

100TH YEAR

APRIL, 1936

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THE  
**DUBLIN  
REVIEW**

*A QUARTERLY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL*

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CENTENARY  
NUMBER

1836—1936

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LONDON

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# THE DUBLIN REVIEW

April, May, June,  
1936

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## THE CONVERTS' AID SOCIETY

for the assistance of convert clergymen, from the various Protestant bodies, ESPECIALLY MARRIED MEN WITH FAMILIES, and, if funds allow, convert Anglican Sisters.

*President :*

His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster



The HOLY FATHER described it as "This most delicate and most exquisite Charity", and promised a PRIVILEGED BLESSING to all those who help on "this most noble work".

His Holiness also expressed great pleasure that PARISH PRIESTS, by kindly allowing collections, are helping in such a very practical way.

"A BLANK FUTURE"—The Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J., says :

"... The Converts' Aid Society I consider to be an absolutely essential Society. . . . I suppose nineteen out of twenty persons have not only to turn their souls upside down to become Catholics, but, knowing themselves brought up to do one job only—and a parson's upbringing does really incapacitate him almost always for doing anything else whatever—they have to confront a perfectly blank future, and what about their wife whom they love, and their children for whose very existence they are responsible ? . . ."

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## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

*The special thanks of the publishers are due to the writers and reviewers who have contributed to this centenary number of the DUBLIN REVIEW.*

MR. SHANE LESLIE's characteristic ode commemorates the history of the REVIEW, which he himself edited with distinction from 1916 to 1925.

*The late BISHOP CASARTELLI's copiously documented account of its first sixty years was written some years before he became Bishop of Salford, and is here reprinted from the Jubilee issue of April 1896.*

FATHER HENRY TRISTRAM, of the Birmingham Oratory, who is the foremost authority on all matters concerning Cardinal Newman, shows how, by mischance, the greatest of the Oxford converts was for years discouraged by the DUBLIN, when it became largely their organ; and with a noble tribute he makes amends for the suspicion with which Newman was regarded while he lived.

MRS. MAISIE SHEED (*Maisie Ward*) writes with unique information concerning the editorship of her grandfather and father, of whose private papers and published writings she has made a close study for her volumes on "*The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition*."

*The ABBOT OF AMPLEFORTH has generously contributed an appreciation of Bishop Hedley's learning and devotion as editor of the REVIEW from 1878 to 1884, based upon first-hand sources of information.*

*In a survey of Mr. Algar Thorold's editorship (1926-34) MR. E. I. WATKIN, one of the most learned and versatile of his collaborators, shows how remarkably he encouraged and "discovered" new writers and became the centre of a brilliant group.*

CANON FLETCHER's detailed notes on the earlier Catholic periodicals in England, embodying the results of years of research, are specially appropriate for inclusion in this issue, which marks the completion of a hundred years of continuous publication.

MR. DENIS GWYNN, who is responsible on behalf of the publishers for editing and producing the DUBLIN REVIEW, under the recent arrangement with the Archbishop of Westminster as its proprietor, discusses the survival of the DUBLIN and considers the present condition of the Catholic Press in Great Britain, in relation to the forthcoming International Press Exhibition at the Vatican.

*A complete index of all articles published in the DUBLIN REVIEW since its inception, with the contributor's name in every case when it can be ascertained, is published in connexion with this centenary issue, as a special supplement of about 100 pages. Bound in boards, the supplement costs 3s. 6d. or \$1.00 post free.*

A discrepancy may be noticed in the numbering of this issue, which appears as No. 397, although a hundred years of uninterrupted publication have elapsed. The explanation is that, when publication dates were less punctually observed than they were afterwards, the earlier issues appeared in almost any month, and in several years only three issues were published for this reason. Consecutive numbering from the beginning of the REVIEW was not commenced until the Fourth Series began in 1892; and by a faulty addition the total was then given as one more than it should have been.

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1936

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**The Manager, "The CLERGY REVIEW"**  
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# The Dublin Review

APRIL, 1936

No. 397

## CENTENNIAL ODE

Chant us the secular splendour : the Centenarian DUBLIN !

Passing all rivals and burying Editors famous and learned.

Chant us the Publishers : mention the green-coloured wrapper,  
the emblem

Gleaming immortal of Faith that was given by Patrick to Ireland.  
Founded a five-score of years since the glorious Daniel O'Connell,  
Once having given their Freedom to Catholic Peer and to Peasant,  
Lifted up Prelate and layman and gave their Opinion an outlet.

Wiseman then, working in Rome upon studies at first Oriental,  
Turned unto England's great needs. In the shade of the Fisher-  
man's City

Studied and struggled foreseeing the future of mission and faithful,  
Fostered alike by four Pontiffs whose love was undying to England.

Missionary Vicar and Bishop he saw what of scholarship wanted,  
Fearlessly founded the DUBLIN and flaunted an orthodox organ.

Passed have a hundred of years and four hundred of Quarterly  
numbers.

Liveth the verdant green flag that was raised to do battle  
doctrinal,

Battle for faith 'gainst the *Edinburgh* Whig and the *Quarterly*  
Tory.

Where may be now that great Whiggish and bitter heretical  
Journal ?

Smiting so hard once on Prelate and Poet and faithful scarce  
rallied,

Where may be now the grim hammer of Jeffreys, reviler of  
Wiseman,

Mocker of Creeds to men's minds and unsparing in slashing  
O'Connell ?

Chant we the DUBLIN arising in spite of the hate of men's thinking,  
'Spite of the scarceness of writers and spite of the failing sub-  
scriptions.

Editors many and varied have garnished the Editor's sanctum,  
Chiefly that wisest and youngest of Rome's Apostolical Vicars.

First to unload the idea Michael Quin was inspirer and patron.

Few were the *Quarterly*-calibred writers and few the subscribers.

Wiseman unfearing set Faith above hope, not despairing of cham-  
 pions,  
 Choosing the sage Doctor Russell of Maynooth the President  
 gracious,  
 Him by whose influence was Newman from Oxford converted  
 and succoured.  
 Forty long years Doctor Russell contributed articles freely,  
 Every great subject he tackled from Scripture to thoughts on  
 the Sonnet.  
 Other came never his equal, recalling his versatile genius  
 Haply save Barry the heaven-sent writer of Quarterly brilliance.  
 Keeping the flag at the masthead once Russell wrote five of his  
 papers,  
 Filling thereby only one of the constantly hard-menaced numbers,  
 Neither disdaining to write on the telescopes recently planted  
 By the Lord Rosse to uncover the non-theological Heavens.

Wrote in the DUBLIN the father of modern-made History, Lingard,  
 Almost a legend to readers today, but he wrote on the Prayer-Book  
 Used by the Church of the State and her hidden liturgical treasure.  
 Newman himself once reviewed the sweet poems of lovable Keble,  
 Sadly but lovingly parted the giants of the Oxford Revival.  
 Further came names once familiar of converts who followed with  
 Newman,  
 Christie the Jesuit and Morris and Allies, first Newcastle Scholar.  
 Shrewsbury's Earl who was patron of Pugin once wrote on some  
 Prelates  
 Reckoned then Protestant: Manning included, a rising Arch-  
 deacon,  
 Never half-dreaming succession to Cardinal Wiseman's new purple.  
 Years will reveal him, as likewise the gathering name of Charles  
 Russell  
 Modestly writing before he became the Chief Justice of England.  
 Murray and Croly both wrote from Maynooth as though Castor  
 and Pollux,  
 Leading the learned, descended to battle amid theologians.  
 Greatest of articles, ever that Wiseman dictated and printed,  
 Showed to the lingering Newman the ghost on the wall of his  
 stronghold,  
 Never again like as others who never had visioned a phantom.  
 Only a footnote that started his fancy. Saint Austin's great  
 sentence  
 Always came ringing in Newman's own hearing, the Latin *Securus*  
 Echoed from Oxford to Littlemore, ever the cry of *Securus*,

Ever *Securus*, but not so secure was the Anglican thinker  
Hearing the word and the sequence the *judicat orbis terrarum* !

This was the sentence that threatened and finally tore up the  
dreaming

Called *via media* by Newman and trod by disciples and master.

Now by a single outpouring of sudden historical lightning

Shed from the DUBLIN the highway of Rome had appeared  
through the darkness.

Massive and great grew the writings of scholars like three-decker  
warships.

Articles sometimes were more than a fifty or hundred of pages.

Greater the leisure for reading the solid in days of the Movement.

Bagshawe was Editor into the Sixties with Manning Archbishop.

Ward then of Ultras most Ultra took over the DUBLIN and made it

Trenchant and vibrant, a hammer to hammer all Liberal thinking,

Hammer of Gallicans, hammer on erring Philosophy's anvil.

John Stuart Mill was the principal target he smote with his chal-  
lenge,

Mill the most gentle of godless philosophers, Ward the most  
gracious

Champion of Infallibility : both of them finding the other

Foeman most worthy to meet and to parry on each other's rapier.

England learnt counter and counter from such who could argue  
their ethics.

Pius the Ninth was then reigning, most keenly dogmatic of Pontiffs,

Ward and the DUBLIN were flung in the battle dividing the Council

Whether the Dogma admitted by ages should now become credal.

Ward was for striking the doubters and making the great Definition,

Wounding the gentle and old-fashioned faithful and stirring up  
Newman.

Came the decision and Liberals and Ultras, opponents and rivals,

Threw down their armour, but Manning and Ward never lin-  
quished the battle.

Only resigning with Leo the Thirteenth soon gloriously reigning,

Ward left the DUBLIN to Hedley the wise Benedictine and Bishop.

New in the series were other great champions of orthodox standing.

Mivart, Professor and deep in all Natural History's learning,

Writing the ultimate word on the Cat as the critic, whom Darwin

Always feared most as the quickest to pierce through the joints  
of his harness,

Keeping the mighty discerner of Species awake from his sleeping.  
Likewise on Spencer, the positive priest of the God that is Nothing,  
Mivart fell, caustically piercing the barren Psychology Spencer  
Built up, laboriously sating the self-satisfied of the pundits.

Other great names were appearing of Cardinals yet in the future,  
Herbert the flower of the Vaughans and the glory of Catholic  
Welshmen,

Also the Cardinal Moran the Primate Archbishop of Sydney,  
Writing on Patrick and where was his birthplace, contested like  
Homer's ?

Other great stars of the DUBLIN were Ullathorne, Birmingham's  
Bishop,

Chaplain to Botany Bay, and the last Apostolical Vicar  
Left in the English Hierarchy, and Clifford, the Bishop of Clifton,  
Stating his plausible theory connecting the dates of Creation,  
Making the eras of Time but a week unto Him Who is timeless.

Thus till the Nineties when literary leadership passed unto others,  
First to the great Theologian Moyes, who made Anglican Orders  
Wholly his subject, and secondly passed unto Wilfrid the Wardship  
Won and maintained by his father through many a hard-fighting  
number.

These were the days of the Modernist Movement, when thinkers  
divided,

Grouped in two armies, and chaos of thinking seemed threatening  
the wisest.

Wisely the DUBLIN was keeping her sailcloth doctrinally open,  
Long as the tiller spoke true to the Roman Fisherman's guiding.  
These were the days when the DUBLIN was opened to Humanist  
writing,

Publishing Thompson the poet's fine Essay on Shelley another,  
Whereby the DUBLIN the first time in history sold of a number  
All to the last of the issue and called for a second edition !

Chant we the triumphs and struggles, the wonderful path of the  
DUBLIN

Gathered now into her Jubilee twice and attaining her hundred.

Praise we the great men outstanding, the founders and Editors  
resting

Now in the glory and peace of the Lord—may they rest from their  
labour.

Praise we the diligent writers, who nameless or signing their  
penship,

Gave of their best-fitting labour, research and good writing of  
English.

Praise we the Publishers also who published regardless of costing.  
Praise we the faithful subscribers and praise we the thousands of  
readers.

Peace to their spirits, and now let the DUBLIN's centennial number  
Be to the living for standard, and unto the dead for their glory !

SHANE LESLIE.

## THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS

[The following article is reprinted from the DUBLIN REVIEW  
of April, 1896]

*The Dublin Review.* Vols. I to LII. London: May 1836–April 1863.

*The Dublin Review.* New Series. Vols. I to XXXI. London: July 1863–Oct. 1878.

*The Dublin Review.* Third Series. Vols. XXXII (I) to XXVI. London: Jan. 1879–Oct. 1891.

*The Dublin Review.* New (Fourth) Series. Vols. CX to CXVIII. London: Jan. 1892–April 1896.

“IF the history of the DUBLIN REVIEW could be written in full, we suspect it would be as interesting as the narrative of an eventful human life.”

So wrote, a year ago, the genial and gifted editor of the *Irish Monthly*, Father Matthew Russell, S.J.\*

“If the secret history of the *D.R.* were known to the public, how strange it would appear! So often on the point of sinking, yet always rescued—it looks as if heaven regarded it propitiously.”

So wrote, over fifty years ago, Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman in a letter to Dr. Charles Russell, dated from Oscott, 9 November, 1844.†

These appreciations are brought vividly to our minds by the fact that the present number marks the Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary, of the foundation of the REVIEW, whose first quarterly issue bears the date May 1836.

It may seem perhaps contrary to usage, if not to journalistic etiquette, for a review like ours to celebrate in this form its own Jubilee. We have, however, the example of our predecessors to justify us. Retrospective and autobiographical articles of the kind have been not infrequent in our pages. Cardinal Wiseman contributed such articles at least twice, in December 1856, and just before the close of the Old Series in November 1862. A very personal article of the kind appeared in the Second Series, in January 1867; and in April 1875 pointed reference was made in the first article to “forty

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 54. January 1895. † *Ibid.*, p. 56.

years ago", when the REVIEW was first begun, though the calculation was not exactly accurate. Dr. Ward, on occasion of his retirement from the editorial chair, indulged in a similar retrospect in the number for October 1878. The REVIEW has, therefore, all along preserved and manifested a kind of self-consciousness, and it does not appear altogether inappropriate to signalize the completion of its sixtieth year of life-history in a somewhat similar fashion.

It must be confessed that, to a considerable extent, we have been anticipated. Father Russell, S.J., above referred to—the nephew of Dr. Charles Russell—who, with Cardinal Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell, ranks as one of the "Makers of the *Dublin*", published during the years 1893–95 a series of exceedingly interesting bibliographical articles on the history of our REVIEW in the pages of his own excellent periodical.\* These papers, based upon the invaluable MS. documents of his late uncle, threw a flood of light upon the early history of this REVIEW, and especially upon the identification of a large number of writers, of whom he has been able to compile a list, in parts very complete, derived chiefly from the private memoranda of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, and of Mr. Cashel Hoey, sub-editor under Dr. Ward. These interesting and entertaining papers of Father Russell are indispensable for anybody wishing to undertake the bibliographical history of our REVIEW. Indeed it must occur to every reader that Ireland's gifted poet-priest, and no less charming *littérateur*, was exactly the one writer most fitted to undertake the present memorial article. And it is with deep regret that the present writer records that Father Russell's modesty has prevented him from accepting the suggestion. He has, however, most kindly allowed his own papers in the *Irish Monthly* to be laid fully under contribution for the compilation of the present article and, moreover, has generously placed at our disposal the MSS. of Cardinal Wiseman and others above referred to.

The general table of contents to the 118 volumes of the REVIEW, which accompanies the present number,

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vols. XXI, XXII, XXIII.

may be looked upon to some extent as an appendix to this article. Time and space do not allow the more elaborate attempt of an alphabetical index to the sixty years. But we believe that even the present more modest chronological list will not be without its interest and even practical utility. It was our hope to be able to add, at least to the Original Series, the names of the writers of all the articles. The groundwork for such a compilation is indeed to be found in the article of the *Irish Monthly*. We have above mentioned the MS. material which the editor of that periodical had at his disposal for the purpose. The first was a memorandum of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, concerning which Father Russell writes :

Through the great kindness of Mrs. Cashel Hoey—herself so distinguished a writer in fiction and in graver departments of literature—the previous little note-book has been placed at last in my hands. It is labelled “*Dublin Review*, 1 to 104”, but unfortunately there are gaps in the record. Of the two quarterly parts which form a volume of the *Review* the first has its writers chronicled on the left-hand page, and the second on the page opposite. Except in one instance towards the end, the articles are specified only by their number, not by subjects.\*

For the Second Series there were available, as we have said, certain memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey, the sub-editor. Father Russell continues :

With No. 104 comes to an end the first official record of contributors which Mr. Cashel Hoey inherited from Mr. Bagshawe. As he preserved it carefully and valued it highly, it seems strange that he did not keep a similar record during the many years that he occupied a position similar to Mr. Bagshawe’s in the conduct of the *Review*. Mrs. Cashel Hoey has been kind enough to show me some memorandum books, in which Dr. Ward’s most efficient lieutenant took notes concerning the authorship of certain numbers, but apparently with a view to the carrying out of the principle, “The labourer is worthy of his hire”.†

That is to say, these memoranda (very imperfect for the rest) appear to name only, or at least chiefly, those contributors to whom *honoraria* had been paid for their articles, so that gaps are of frequent occurrence in the

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 80. † *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 146.



lists. Notwithstanding their incompleteness, Father Russell estimates these editorial records as a "treasure-trove", and their discovery as his "greatest piece of luck" in the department of literary history. Many of the deficiencies he was able to make up from other sources; partly from Dr. Russell's own MSS., consisting, as above remarked, of valuable letters and memoranda, and partly from works since published, in which the contributors of numerous writers to the REVIEW—such as Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Ward, Dr. Abraham, Mr. Wilberforce, Bishop Grant, Cardinal Manning, and others—have been publicly acknowledged. In a subsequent letter to the *Tablet*, Father Russell added the remark: "There are several gaps in the catalogue, which may perhaps be supplied from other sources. For instance, I believe the set of the DUBLIN REVIEW in Oscott College has the writers marked."

This was a hint too important to be lost, and the present writer has lately been enabled, through the great kindness of the Rev. Henry Parkinson, D.D., the Vice-President and Librarian of Oscott College, to examine carefully the set in the splendid Oscott Library and collate it with the *Irish Monthly* lists. The result is somewhat curious. To a considerable extent the two authorities coincide. But unfortunately they agree also in their *lacunae*. The Oscott volumes, at least in the earlier series, have the names of authors entered in a neat, small handwriting in the table of contents of each.

So far, however, from being complete, there are no less than seven quarterly parts\* in which the authors' names, though given in Mr. Bagshawe's list in the *Irish Monthly*, are entirely absent in the Oscott volumes. Occasionally one or more articles left anonymous in the *Irish Monthly* are marked in the Oscott one; rarely *vice versa*. More frequently there is a discrepancy between the two lists, and in most of these cases Father Russell, to whom these differences have been submitted, is inclined to consider the Oscott list the more accurate. But in spite of this it is sufficiently clear that the two

\* Viz., Vol. XII, No. 24; XXV, No. 50; XXVI, No. 51; XXVII, No. 53; XXIX, No. 58; XLII, No. 83; XLVI, No. 91.

lists are *practically identical*. Where the *Irish Monthly* list is silent, there the Oscott list fails us too ; the volumes indexed at Oscott, with the slight exceptions recorded, just coincide with those indexed in the *Irish Monthly* lists ; so that it is evident, either that one of those lists has been copied from the other, or that both are derived from some common original. Whichever be the case, it is to be feared that, unless some other MS. sources exist which have hitherto escaped our notice, data are no longer forthcoming for completing the list of authors of the Original Series of the REVIEW. With the exception of a few odd articles, forty-one volumes alone of the Original Series have had the names of the Reviewers preserved more or less completely. These names will be found appended in brackets to the table of contents now published of that series, the information being derived from the several sources above enumerated. No doubt further research may tend to correct and complete this catalogue.

It had been our intention to treat in a similar manner the contents of the Second or "Ward" Series. For this purpose, however, we have been able to obtain but very scanty and unsatisfactory data. Moreover, it has occurred to us that, for other reasons, it might be undesirable to unveil the anonymity of the Reviewers of this series. The First Series concluded early in 1863. A generation has passed since then, and for the most part the "Old Dublin Reviewers" themselves belong to history. Of the writers of the Second Series, on the other hand, many are still with us ; and literary etiquette might in some cases make it undesirable to publish their names, at least without their own desire. With the opening of the Third Series the reign of the old-fashioned anonymity came to an end, and subsequently nearly all the articles have, in more modern fashion, boldly borne their authors' signatures.

After these preliminary remarks of a bibliographical nature, we may now turn to consider more strictly the history of the REVIEW itself. In so doing, however, we shall be obliged to disappoint the reader who may expect what Cardinal Wiseman called "the secret history" of

the REVIEW. Our object is of a much less ambitious nature, and is limited to a brief sketch of what may more properly be styled "the external history" of the "historic DUBLIN", as it has been so justly called.

## I

The honour of the first inception of the DUBLIN REVIEW is generally attributed, as we have said, to Dr. Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell. Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, at that time (1836), a young man of thirty-four, and Rector of the English College in Rome, was just emerging to fame in this country by his literary and scientific attainments. During the preceding year he had read before a select audience in the apartments of Cardinal Weld in Rome his *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*. O'Connell was in the midst of the most exciting period of his stirring career. Strange to say, however, Cardinal Wiseman, in the preface to his *Essays on Various Subjects* (1853), assigns the honour to a third person, the first editor, Mr. Michael J. Quin, writing: "It was in 1836 that the idea of commencing a Catholic quarterly was first conceived by the late learned and excellent Mr. Quin, who applied to the illustrious O'Connell and myself to join in the undertaking."

The first quarterly part of this most important venture, "the Catholic rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* and the Tory *Quarterly*", duly appeared with the date May 1836, and has continued ever since, in spite of all dangers and difficulties, in unbroken quarterly succession up to the present number. It is curious to remark that for a good many years the appearance of the parts was by no means as regular as we should have expected. The actual month of issue was more or less unsettled; in fact, strange as it may appear, during the first dozen years of its existence there is not a single month of the year whose name does not figure on at least one or two of the quarterly issues.\* Complete regularity in this

\* To quote a few examples: January 1838, 1839, 1847; February 1840-43.

matter does not seem to have been attempted until the opening of the Second Series.

The subsequent history of the REVIEW falls into four periods: the first is that of the Original Series, which may be fairly styled the "Wiseman-Russell Series", from the two eminent *littérateurs* to whom the lion's share of the work and the chief credit of its high literary excellence are undoubtedly due. This series, as already stated, lasted from May 1836 to April 1863, filling fifty-two consecutive half-yearly volumes. The "New Series" which followed, from July 1863 to October 1878—occupying thirty-one half-yearly volumes, and appearing at the regular quarterly intervals, and in the months (January, April, July, and October) which have now become stereotyped—was pre-eminently the "Ward Series", during which the remarkable personality of that able and trenchant philosopher, Dr. W. G. Ward, who combined in himself the functions of both proprietor and editor, completely predominates the life-history of the REVIEW, and gives to this series an individual *cachet* all its own.

The retirement of Dr. Ward and the passing of the proprietorship into the hands of Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan, and of the editorship into those of the learned Bishop of Newport, Dr. Hedley, mark the opening of the "Third Series", on comparatively novel lines. This series embraced twenty-six half-yearly volumes, lasting from January 1879 to October 1891. Finally, with the passing of the editorship into the present hands, the actual or "Fourth Series" began with the January number of 1892.

The choice of the title of the REVIEW was dictated partly, we should imagine, by way of distinctive contrast with the *Edinburgh*—the name of the Irish capital symbolizing a country as essentially Catholic as that of the Scottish capital seemed suggestive of Knox and Calvinism; and partly because it was intended to appeal very largely for its support—both monetary and literary—to the Green Isle of Erin, whose verdant livery has ever been the distinctive colour of the DUBLIN, and whose national arms with the old motto, *Eire go bráth*, in the proper Erse characters, duly figured on the cover of

every number of the Original Series, and in smaller form in those of the Second Series. The REVIEW has, indeed, from the beginning, always been published in London, but the connexion with Ireland was from its earliest days very close. At least one-half, oftentimes much more, of the literary matter of the Original Series was produced in Ireland; and Irish topics, political, social, educational, or literary, constantly occupied an important share of each quarter's bill of fare. A glance at the table of contents for the earlier years will show this.

The first editor to whom Cardinal Wiseman gives the credit of the original conception of the REVIEW was Mr. M. J. Quin, a native of Thurles, in Tipperary, a journalist and lawyer of some note in his time (born 1796, died 1843). He, however, edited only the first two quarterly numbers. The third number (December 1836) was edited by the well-known historical writer, the Rev. M. A. Tierney, and the fourth and fifth (April and July 1837) by Mr. James Smith of Edinburgh, whose son was the learned Dr. William Smith, afterwards second Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. With the sixth number, the young magazine at last obtained a permanent editor in the person of Mr. H. R. Bagshawe, who retained the editorial chair till the accession of Dr. Ward in 1863. The causes of this uncertainty of tenure in the editorial office were, alas! of the financial kind, which too often dog the steps of an incipient literary venture. Father Russell cites a rather pathetic letter of Quin to O'Connell, dated from 25 Southampton Row, Russell Square, 2 January, 1837, in which he says :

In obedience to your opinion, which to me is law, I have surrendered all claim upon the *Review* funds for any compensation whatever. . . . The question which now remains to be settled is this—in what mode is the *Review* to be henceforth continued? Its existence is a matter of great importance to religion, to Ireland, to the popular cause. It is impossible that I should edit and write without being paid. A fund should be supplied adequate to pay the editor a reasonable salary, and to remunerate contributors for their articles. Whence is this fund to proceed? This is a question necessary to be answered as soon as possible, in order that preparations should be made forthwith for the fourth num-

ber. I have no objection still to continue editor if you wish, but I cannot give any more of my time to the journal without remuneration. In *writing* and in cash I have already advanced to the *Review* upwards of £300. Is it reasonable that I alone should be called upon to make such a sacrifice as this ?\*

Publishers, too, were doomed to suffer from "that eternal want of pence that vexes public men". The first publisher was "William Spooner, 377 Strand". With 1838, "Booker and Dolman, 61 New Bond Street" appear on the title-page; changed next year to "C. Dolman (nephew and successor to J. Booker)", the address remaining as before. In 1845 Dolman was succeeded by Richardson and Son, and in 1862 the Richardsons by the firm at first known as "Burns and Lambert", then as "Burns, Lambert and Oates", and finally by its present style of "Burns and Oates".

Of the financial difficulties of the early years we learn a good deal from a long letter of Mr. Charles Dolman to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, M.P., dated 11 February, 1839, which is among the MSS. so obligingly placed at our disposal by Father Russell. Dolman has much to say of the difficulties and risks of the undertaking, in which Mr. Richards (the printer) and himself "have both lost so much". "I undertook", he says in a subsequent letter (29 March, 1843), "to be responsible for the payments required to carry on the *REVIEW* under the direction and editorship of Bishop Wiseman† for the period of four years upon the assurance of support from the guarantee fund which terminated with the last year." He again complains that he has been a severe loser, and then details a new plan proposed by Dr. Wiseman, and which amounts to this—that the writers of articles shall receive "a joint interest in the *REVIEW*, and will be content to receive the proceeds of the sales, after paying the printing expenses, for their remuneration". We also gather from these letters that O'Connell's annual contribution to the guarantee fund was £25. In a letter of December 14, 1843, Dolman, acknowledging a last instalment, thanks

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 138, 139.

† Dr. Wiseman had meanwhile been nominated Coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic, and consecrated Bishop of Melipotamus in 1840.



the great Irish statesman very warmly for his powerful aid and protection, and for having recommended the REVIEW to the Irish clergy. He thinks that it has hitherto had but slight support from that quarter, though he is

but too well aware that there has been on some occasions reasons why perhaps the *Review* would not [*sic*] and was not well received by them, and justly so; but I trust no such occasion will ever occur again and that past errors being forgot and forgiven, the *Review* will reap the benefit of that union and support for want of which it has hitherto languished.

Daniel O'Connell had long before this published, under date 18 February, 1838, his lithographed letter to the Irish Bishops in favour of the REVIEW, "of which I am one of the proprietors". He says in the document:

The object with which this publication was instituted was and is to afford the Catholic literature of these countries a fair and legitimate mode of exhibiting itself to the people of the British Empire, and especially to the people of Ireland, in the shape most likely to produce a permanent as well as useful effect. The other quarterly publications are in the hands either of avowed and malignant enemies of Catholicity, or—what is worse—insidious and pretended friends, who affect a false liberality at the expense of Catholic doctrine.

The *Dublin Review*, though not intended for purely polemical discussion, contains many articles of the deepest interest to the well-informed Catholic disputant. The name of Dr. Wiseman—who is also a proprietor of the work—ensures the orthodoxy of the opinions contained in it, and will be admitted to be in itself a pledge of the extent and depth and variety of its scientific as well as theological information.\*

O'Connell's reference to the importance of Wiseman's share in the undertaking was no whit exaggerated. The evidence of this is to be found in his constant contribution of admirable articles to the pages of the REVIEW. These articles, of high literary merit and containing a wealth of erudition, cover a wide field ranging from theology and patristic learning to the fine arts and

\* M. F. Cusack, *The Liberator; his Life and Times*, p. 643. London. 1872.

*belles lettres*. Many of them are of permanent value. But over and above this Wiseman was practically the literary editor of the REVIEW, Bagshawe being little more than a business editor. This is abundantly proved by his correspondence with Dr. Russell, much of which lies before us as we write. He is constantly discussing the articles to be accepted or rejected, suggesting modifications, enumerating the stock in hand for forthcoming numbers, sketching projected series or individual articles, criticizing, questioning, exulting, or complaining, as things go satisfactorily or the contrary. The impression left by a perusal of those letters—models, by the way, of neatness and accuracy in penmanship and composition, in spite of the almost crushing stress of official work, especially after the erection of the Hierarchy—is that the REVIEW was Wiseman's pet child. He writes about it with the anxiety of a father for its future, his solicitude for present weakness, his joy and pride at success achieved and commendation won from strangers. We must be allowed to make a few extracts :

I find everyone pleased with Mr. Marshall's paper ["Development of Protestantism", March 1846], though long. Mr. Newman has spoken to me of it in high admiration.\*

And again :

The other day I was at the British Museum Library, when Panizzi spoke to me with great praise of your article on Hippolytus ["The newly found Treatise against All Heresies", December 1852]. He told me he had urged several of the very same objections to Mr. Bunsen. But the way he read the article was this : Cureton brought it to him, saying that Bunsen himself had given it to him to peruse ; he was so much pleased by the gentlemanly and scholar-like tone which pervaded it, and the respect with which he was treated, all which presented such a contrast to the manner in which he had been handled in some Protestant reviews.

From conversation with Panizzi I am convinced that the *Dublin Review* is much more known, and exercises much more influence than we think. Panizzi knows the old numbers and articles, and told me how he had read them to friends in the library. Let us have a good number next time.†

\* Letter, 27 April, 1846.

† Letter, 30 January, 1853.



Elsewhere: "I am quite overwhelmed with subjects for the REVIEW." Then comes a list of four important articles he is planning, on Scripture and Theology, after which he adds: "My light article I find is popular, but I fear people are attributing it to me."\* The very next sentence is prophetic, and shows what was going on in the minds of Wiseman and others at the time, the very year before the Hierarchy: "I have heard nothing from Rome about the Primacy, but I *fear* much."†

Some time before this, in a letter referring to some necessary alterations in papers contributed by some of the recent Oxford converts, Oakeley, Morris, and others, we meet the gratifying remark: "There was not the slightest difficulty in getting them all modified. Nothing can exceed the docility of our converts."‡ In a later letter, pleading extra pressure of business, the newly made Cardinal tells his faithful correspondent, "We have been talking over plans for improving the REVIEW and combining it with a paper."§ But, fortunately perhaps, the "combination" never came off. Sometimes we find him criticizing the REVIEW, and himself as well. Thus:

The *Review* is not deep. It wants some more reasoning and original articles; there seems to me to be too much extract and mere analysis of works. . . . As for my own article ["The Bible in Maynooth", September 1852], it was written far too hurriedly, and I ran off the rails, and could not bring out what I wanted. Let us get something good for next time.||

A few months later we have the following interesting comments:

Do you not think we are getting into too few hands? Ward, De Morgan, Christie, Newman, Allies, etc., have written for us, and now literally we are alone with Robertson and Dr. Charlton. The rest are chiefly extract papers. Surely the convert element ought to be more cultivated. . . . I see the growing narrowness of our work, and deplore it. Never a paper on Physics, Astro-

\* This was an amusing article in the preceding number, September 1849, entitled "The Art of Puffing".

† Letter, Bexhill, 17 October, 1849.

§ London, 18 December, 1850.

‡ Letter, 4 December, 1846.

|| Letter, 2 October, 1852.

nomical discoveries, Chemistry, Electricity, Steam, Railroads, Physiology, Medicine, Geology, Botany, Law Reform—not even on politics in their wider sense. Never any article on foreign countries except the bleak North—I mean an original paper. . . . As to myself, besides Lent duties which increase as the season advances, I am now more and more overpowered by extraneous business, which makes me feel the difference between a Bishop or V.A. and an Archbp., especially when Cardl.\*

The ever-growing pressure of business did not, however, prevent the great Cardinal either from continuing to contribute admirable articles of his own to the *REVIEW*, or from following with undiminished solicitude its career. Three years later—at the very moment he was recovering “from that shabby complaint, influenza, which throws none of the dignity or sympathy of illness around one”—he finds time to indite a long epistle containing somewhat similar criticisms to those above quoted, but also adding a projected programme of topics which he conceives ought to be discussed in the pages of the *REVIEW*. This syllabus is of sufficient interest to quote almost in full. It runs thus :

#### IRELAND.

1. The State Church.
2. The Catholic representation—its discharge of its duties, etc.
3. Education, and the efforts making to thwart and undermine ours.
4. Proselytism—its history and condition.
5. Maynooth—Queen’s College—Universities.
6. Land Question, Encumbered Estates Court—results of late changes in the population—emigration, colonisation, etc.
7. Agricultural and commercial industry, Flax, Fisheries, etc.

#### ENGLAND.

8. Progress of Religion—and its wants.
9. Infidelity, its spread and remedies.
10. Puseyism—Dennison, etc.
11. Charitable trusts.
12. Political position of Catholics.
13. Education.

\* Letter, Walthamstow, 18 February, 1853.

## FOREIGN.

14. English and French alliance, every day becoming a more delicate subject.
15. Concordats—Austria, Wurtemberg [*sic*], Tuscany, and Spain—perhaps Russia. (My lectures on the Concordat having been translated into Italian and German have gone through several editions. In Austria especially they have been much read. The Pope has read them, and expressed himself much pleased.)
16. Defence of Cath. powers from the calumnies of the Press . . .
17. The true character of the Liberal Party on the Continent—Mazzini, etc. (It is certain that all written on such subjects is read with great avidity in the Clubs. Mr. Bowyer's two arts. on Spain and Sardinia, for which I furnished the documents, have done much good.)
18. The theological literature of the Continent . . .

It seems to me that such matters as come under these heads should be treated upon clear and definite principles, and every number should bring one or more before the Catholic mind so as to work it up into a clear and consistent view.\*

We learn from this same letter that "the root of evil" is still "the want of adequate means" to attract writers of talent by suitable *honoraria*. "If anything happened to Richardson, we should be lost", the writer concludes.

We ought, perhaps, to apologize for these lengthy extracts, but they seem required to do justice to the illustrious prelate who was really the Father of the DUBLIN REVIEW, as well as to give an adequate impression of the high ideal, the noble aims which inspired him, all during the more than quarter of a century of his intimate connexion with it.

From Wiseman's private letters we may turn to one or two articles published in the REVIEW which convey the same lessons. In one, entitled "The Present Catholic Dangers" (December 1856), he gives the following summary of the twenty years' life, then just completed, of the periodical :

During the twenty years' existence of this *Review*, during vicissitudes and struggles not easily paralleled in the history of

\* Letter, 7 November, 1856.

such publications, we believe it entitled to one commendation. It was established for an end which it has steadily kept in view. Thoroughly able and willing to sympathize with the difficulties, the traditions, the deep-worn feelings of Catholics, almost before the dawn of the brighter era of conversion, church-building, educational movement, and religious bibliopolism had appeared on the horizon, its conductors endeavoured, gently and gradually, to move forward the Catholic mind without shocking or violently drawing away, or aside, thoughts familiar to it, and growing side by side with its best inheritance. They avoided all the troubled waters and eddies of domestic contention; nor is it among the least of many praises due to the illustrious O'Connell, who was one of its founders, that, wrapped up as his whole external life was in politics, he consented that the new quarterly should not involve itself in their vortex, even to advocate his own views, but should steer its own course along a calmer stream, and try to bear along with it peaceful and consenting minds.

Whatever seemed useful to forward the interests of Catholics, just released from the thralldom of ages, to suggest greater boldness, opener confession of faith, better taste, and especially greater familiarity with the resources of Catholic ritual, Catholic devotion, or Catholic feeling, was diligently studied and carried on, for years, with a steady purpose, that did its work.\*

And when the Original Series was just drawing to its close, in the last quarterly issue but one before it passed into other hands, and little more than a couple of years before his death, the great Cardinal, in that noble article "On Responsibility", the very last he ever contributed to the pages of the work with which he had so long identified himself, penned a passage of such dignity and beauty that we may well quote it, both as his own literary epitaph and as his last message and testament to those who should come after him in the conduct of his REVIEW. It is as follows :

From the first number to this, every article has been written or revised, under the sense of the most solemn responsibility to the Church, and to her Lord. If we have been reproached, it has been rather for severity in exclusion than for laxity in admission. Many an article has been ejected rather than rejected, even after being in type, because it was found not to accord with the high and strict principles from which its editorship has never

\* O.S., Vol. XLI, pp. 441, 442.

swerved, and which it has never abated. To him who has conducted it for so many years a higher praise could scarcely be given ; and by no one, we are sure, has it ever been better deserved. That occasionally an article or a passage may have crept in which did not perfectly come up to the highest standard of ecclesiastical judgment, is not only possible but probable. Absence, hurry, pressing occupation, ill-health, or even inadvertence and justifiable confidence, will be sufficient to account for an occasional deviation from rule, should anyone think he detects it. If so, we are certain he will find its corrective or its rectification in some other place.

For from first to last, as we have said, this *Review* has been guided by principles fixed and unalterable ; and those who have conducted it have done so with the feeling that they must render an account of all that they admitted. However long may be its duration, and under whatever auspices, we are sure that the same deep, earnest, and religious sense will pervade its pages and animate its conductors, that their occupation is a sacred one, a deputation to posterity that our children's children may know how we adhered to the *true faith* of their fathers, how we bore with patience and *gentleness* the persecutions of our enemies, and how we never swerved from *justice* to friend or foe. Our motto may well be "*Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem et justitiam*".\*

Vast as was the share of Cardinal Wiseman in the life and success of the *REVIEW*, it may be doubted whether the periodical would ever have survived its early trials, but for the co-operation of that other eminent and brilliant scholar, who all through those long years was Wiseman's chief lieutenant and comrade-in-arms—Dr. Charles Russell of Maynooth. From the literary point of view, Dr. Russell had certainly the lion's share of the actual work. His first article ("Versions of the Scriptures"), contributed when he was a young professor of twenty-four, appeared in the second quarterly issue of the Old Series (July 1836) ; his last, "The Critical History of the Sonnet", is to be found in the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth numbers of the Second Series (October 1876 and January 1877).

During this space of forty years, Dr. Russell was the most constant and most indefatigable of contributors ; and the wide range of the subjects treated, well characterized by the titles of his first and last papers above

\* O S., Vol. LII, pp. 183, 184.

cited, rivalled that of Wiseman's and gave evidence of the vast erudition, the high literary skill, and the versatile culture of one who may perhaps claim to have been the most gifted Catholic scholar of our times. For twenty years he contributed absolutely to every number of the REVIEW; and before 1860 a very large number of issues contain not one but several papers from his prolific and graceful pen; in at least one instance he is credited with no less than five articles. His articles were no mere "pot-boilers". Very many of them were of the highest merit. We have seen Bunsen's appreciation of the one concerning himself. Another elaborate study on Lord Rosse's telescopes won him the esteem and lifelong friendship of that distinguished astronomer.

Our title of contents, imperfect as it is, will show the other and eminent Catholic writers of the day, who formed part of the brilliant staff gathered round Wiseman and Russell. Dr. Lingard contributed at least three articles—one on "Dodd's Church History of England" (May 1839); one entitled "Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself?" (May 1840); and one on "The Ancient Church of England and the Liturgy of the Anglican Church" (August 1841). Newman apparently wrote but a single article for the REVIEW, the one upon Keble's "*Lyra Innocentium*", in the issue of June 1846. The learned Drs. Murray and Croly, of Maynooth, were very frequent contributors. So were Dr. Abraham, M.P., Professor Robertson, J. F. Palmer, and of course the editor, Mr. Bagshawe, besides others too numerous to cite here. One article, the first in the issue for February 1834, is assigned in the editorial list to John, Earl of Shrewsbury; to this Father Russell appends the remark: "It proves to be an article of sixty-six pages on recent charges delivered by Protestant prelates, among them Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. If the Earl wrote the learned article, he must have been helped by his chaplain."\* The present Lord Chief Justice of England† is credited with a single article, in the issue for August 1860, on "The Civil Correspondence

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 85.

† The first Lord Russell of Killowen.

of Wellington". In the Oscott list this is recorded as by "Mr. Chas. A. Russell, Bar., London, nephew of Dr. Russell". The article on "Carlyle's Works", in the issue for September 1850, which Carlyle—according to Froude—found to be "excellently serious", and conjectured to be from the pen of Dr. Ward, turns out to have been written by John O'Hagan, then a young Newry barrister of twenty-eight, afterwards Mr. Justice O'Hagan, who appears once more in July 1873 with an article on the O'Keefe case.

A word should be said of the style of these "Old Dublin Reviewers". It partakes of the prevalent "quarterly" style of its time, grave, dignified, erudite; each article commencing with a deliberate "exordium" of more or less rhetorical character, with reflections of a very general nature, sometimes *geminio ab ovo*, and occasionally rather remote from the subject in hand. The strict review form is also maintained, and every article "hangs upon its own proper peg", in the form of a book or books, or even *The Times* newspaper, duly cited at its head. Our more busy times, perhaps, would be impatient of this old-fashioned and stately procedure. Yet it cannot be denied that the old DUBLINS have a charm of erudition and style all their own. "What treasures of orthodox erudition", to quote Fr. Russell once more, "are contained in those old volumes. . . . What labour, thought, learning, and piety of many hearts and minds are represented in this long series of half-yearly tomes!"\*

The list of articles has, too, its historical value. Looked at chronologically, it presents a complete picture of the history of Catholic thought and life for the best part of this century. Beginning almost before the first stirring of the waters of the "Oxford Movement", and under the very shadow of penal days, the succeeding volumes gradually introduce us to the full strife of those intellectually stirring times, with Wiseman as the protagonist on the Catholic side. In No. 13 (August 1839) we come, with almost a shock of glad surprise, upon the now historical article, nay, upon the very page and the very

\* *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 90; XXII, p. 637.



footnote (Vol. VII, p. 154) of that article, of which we knew from his own words that it was the "shadow of the hand upon the wall", to John Henry Newman—the protagonist on the Anglican side—and the means in God's Providence which was to decide his future for him. That simple footnote on p. 154 contains "the palmary words of St. Augustine"—*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*—which ever afterwards, Newman tells us in his *Apologia*, "kept ringing in my ears", and "struck me with a power which I had never felt from words before. . . . By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized". And he adds, "He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." If the DUBLIN REVIEW had no other title to gratitude, it might securely rest its fame on having given to the world that Article VI of its thirteenth quarterly number, whose effect has been more far-reaching than that of any other magazine article ever written. Little by little the leaders of the Tractarian Movement, from being opponents to be fought with and convinced, come over to us one by one, and in their turn take their places in our ranks as contributors to the REVIEW. Ward, Oakeley, and Marshall simultaneously appear together (as far as our deficient records inform us) in the March issue of 1846: the two first-named become very frequent contributors. Morris, Christie, Formby, Capes, Allies, Anderdon, Manning (December 1854), ffoulkes, and other converts of note gradually appear in the list, side by side with the members of the older staff. Meanwhile, we have come to the epoch of the Hierarchy, and the new Cardinal Archbishop himself, in two consecutive numbers (December 1850 and March 1851), presents the Catholic view of that burning question. And similarly—space will not allow us to give further examples—all the great contemporary movements in Church and State, in education and literature, in scientific discovery and exploration, are faithfully reflected, as in a mirror, in the DUBLIN's table of contents. One could compile a history of the times from the contemporary pages of the old DUBLIN alone.

Before laying aside for good the volumes of the Original



Series, we may add one or two little items, rather of interest than of importance, that we have jotted down in the course of our pleasant task of examining these old tomes. Lady writers are by no means the novelty people might imagine them to be in our grave quarterly. The first paper by a lady appears as early as the fourth volume, being on "Irish Novels and Irish Novelists" (April 1838), attributed to Mrs. Fitzsimons. This lady was a daughter of Daniel O'Connell. It is also somewhat surprising to note that the early REVIEW was not always shy of illustrations: plates or wood-cuts adorn several articles on architecture and archaeology,\* as well as the one above referred to on Rosse's telescopes.† Wiseman, in his letters to Russell, several times complains of the length of articles. No wonder! In Vol. XLVI, No. 92 (June 1859), an article by Finlayson on "The Government of the Papal States" actually occupies 125 pages! By way of contrast, the following year, in Vol. XLVIII, No. 96 (August 1860), Miss St. John contents herself with a space of a little over five and a half pages for her last article. Editors must have been made of less stern stuff in those days than in ours.

But lest we should yield to the temptation of becoming garrulous, without the excuse of old age, we must regretfully close the venerable tomes of the "Wiseman-Russell" era and turn our attention, though more briefly, to the series which followed.

## II

A decided alteration, both in outward appearance and in style and tendency, marks the New Series, which began in July 1863, with Dr. W. G. Ward as proprietor and editor, and Mr. Cashel Hoey as sub-editor. Dr. Ward's own tastes and talents very naturally impressed themselves strongly upon his REVIEW. Metaphysics now tended to come more and more to the front in the literary menu. Dr. Ward was the chief antagonist of John Stuart Mill, and esteemed by that philosopher as

\* Vols. IX, No. 18; X, No. 20; XII, No. 23; XIX, No. 37.

† Vol. XVIII, No. 35.

the foeman best worthy of his steel. Hence much of the long metaphysical duel between those two powerful minds was fought out in the pages of the DUBLIN. Three other lines of thought were also represented by Dr. Ward's own writings in the REVIEW during this time, one regarding the Papal Infallibility, another touching the "Relations between Religion and Politics", and the third on the burning question of Catholics and the Higher Education.

In a memorial article by Cardinal Manning on the occasion of Ward's death (Third Series, October 1882), a list is given of all Ward's contributions under these heads (pp. 268-270), to which the reader may be referred. We must remark, however, that he will find some considerable discrepancies between these lists and that compiled from the memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey in the *Irish Monthly* (April 1893). Cardinal Manning in the article referred to, writes as follows :

What [the *Review*] owed to him during the sixteen years in which he was not only editor but chief contributor, and what aid even after he had ceased to conduct it he still gave by a constant series of philosophical writings, is well known. And yet the importance of his work is perhaps fully known only to a few who were in immediate contact with him and with the *Dublin Review*. The great success of the first series of the *Dublin Review*, when it was sustained by the contributions of the illustrious group of men who surrounded the late Cardinal Wiseman in his early career, had by the same order of time and nature by which we also are now deprived, begun to decline. In the year 1862, Cardinal Wiseman gave to me the legal proprietorship of the *Dublin Review* on the condition that I would ensure its continuation. After certain preliminary endeavours Mr. Ward accepted in full the responsibility of editor. He has stated that all articles passed under the judgment of three censors who were charged to examine the bearing of them on faith, morals, and ecclesiastical prudence. From the time he undertook the office of editor, he threw himself into it as the work and way in which, as a layman, he was to serve the Church. . . . Perhaps the only other contemporaneous example of the all but identity of an editor with his periodical is *Brownson's Review*. In both cases the power of mind in the editor impressed a dominant character upon the work. This fact may have made the *Review* less interesting to general readers, but

it greatly increased its intrinsic value. . . . The second series of the *Dublin Review* did not rank among literary magazines, but it fairly won and kept its place among the weightier and more serious quarterly periodicals.\*

Ward himself, in what he justly styles a "personal" article, contributed to Vol. VIII, No. 15, of his periodical (January 1867), in the form of a review of his own fourteen preceding numbers, defends the New Series with considerable spirit from two adverse criticisms, the one directed against "what is considered the undue preponderance given by us to theology", the other "that our tone is too peremptory and overbearing, that we erect our own private opinion into a kind of shibboleth (as it has been expressed to us); and that we speak of those who oppose our own private views just as though they opposed the Church's authoritative teaching".† Those were indeed the days of hot controversy and hard hitting all round. Very warm waxed the warfare round dogmatic questions like the Vatican Council, the Papal Infallibility and its extent, the Syllabus, and religious "liberalism", and round the vexed questions of our Catholic colleges and the National Universities. The atmosphere in which the "Ward Series" lived was therefore essentially polemical, both with regard to external foes and to internal disputants. In the concluding number of the series (October 1878), Cardinal Manning in a "Letter" which forms the first article gives a general approval to the line taken up by Ward in the course of these controversies. His Eminence also adds :

In the course of this period three special subjects of great moment have been forced both by events and by anti-Catholic public opinion upon our attention—I mean the Temporal power of the Holy See, the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers, and the Infallibility of the Head of the Church. In all these your vigilant and powerful writings have signally contributed to produce the unity of mind which exists among us, and a more considerate and respectful tone even in our antagonists.‡

As we have said, we are not writing the "secret history"

\* N.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 265, 266.

† N.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 164, 167.

‡ N.S., Vol. XXXI, pp. 275, 276.

of the DUBLIN; that is a matter to be left to a future and a more remote generation. The very wide difference of opinion and the almost acrimonious tone of discussion which they engendered among men of the highest intellectual and spiritual excellence have left traces both in published articles and in private correspondence. We can now afford to look back calmly on the burning domestic questions of twenty years ago, and to recognize the earnestness of purpose and conviction of the disputants of both sides.

In his reply to Cardinal Manning's gracious message, Ward, in the same number, pays a handsome tribute to his faithful lieutenant :

It has been the chief felicity [he says] of my editorial lot, that I have obtained the co-operation of one so eminently qualified to supply these deficiencies as Mr. Cashel Hoey. It was once said to me most truly, that he has rather been joint-editor than sub-editor. One-half of the *Review* has been in some sense under his supreme control; and it is a matter of extreme gratification to look back at the entire harmony which has prevailed from the first between him and myself. In the various anxieties which inevitably beset me from time to time, he has invariably shown himself, not only to be a calm and sagacious adviser, but even more, to be the most cordial and sympathetic of friends.\*

The staff of writers gathered around Ward and Cashel Hoey was also a very brilliant one. Dr. Russell, indeed, as we have seen, continued his active co-operation up to the beginning of 1877, as also did Mr. Murray. The latter's article, "The Vatican Council, its Authority and Work", in the issue for January 1873, was considered by Dr. Ward, we are told,† "the best paper he had ever sent to him" during the same series. Prof. St. George Mivart commenced his long critical "Examination of Herbert Spencer's Psychology", which continued its career right into the Third Series. Other writers who contributed to the series were Mr. Edward Healy Thompson, Father Anderdon, S.J., Father Coleridge, S.J., Mr. J. C. Earle, Mr. W. H. Wilberforce, Canon Oakeley, Canon (afterwards Bishop) Hedley, Father

\* N.S., pp. 277, 278.

† *Irish Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 209.

Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B. (afterwards Archbishop of Sydney), Father Herbert Vaughan, D.D. (now our Cardinal Archbishop), Mr. Allies, Dr. Ives (the converted Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America), Mr. David Lewis, Mr. Marshall, and, of course, both Mr. and Mrs. Cashel Hoey. These names, at least, besides a few others, have been preserved for us in the sub-editor's memoranda, which are unfortunately very incomplete. Father Russell opines that the touching "filial memorial" on the death of Cardinal Wiseman, which opens the April issue for 1865, was penned by Dr. Manning, so soon to succeed to the vacant archiepiscopal throne. That "memorial" contains Cardinal Wiseman's own memorandum, dated Easter 1853, narrating the origin and early history of the DUBLIN, which appeared as preface to his volume of Essays issued in that year, and from which we have already quoted. It also records the fact that :

In the last two years since it passed into other hands the declining health of our lamented Cardinal compelled him to postpone again and again the kind and encouraging promises he made to us of contributions from his pen. No line written by him has therefore appeared in it.\*

The following well-merited panegyric of Wiseman's work in the Old Series is added :

If at the end of our labours the second series of the *Dublin Review* should yield from all the hands which may contribute to it three volumes of essays worthy to stand afar off by those of Cardinal Wiseman, for beauty, variety, learning, freshness, originality, above all, for pure, solid Catholic doctrine and high filial devotion to Rome, we shall hope that we have not failed in the trust which he has bequeathed to us.

### III

The final number of the Second or "Ward" Series of the REVIEW (October 1878), concluding its thirty-first volume, contained a fly-leaf with the following announcement :

\* N.S., Vol. IV, p. 270.

"The historic *Dublin*," now in the forty-second year of its existence, has been made over by Mr. W. G. Ward to his Lordship the Bishop of Salford. On the first of January the first number of a new, or Third Series, will appear, under the editorship of the Right Rev. Bishop HEDLEY.

While faithfully adhering to the great Catholic principles, for the maintenance of which it came into existence, and which have been its *raison d'être* and its very life for over forty years, the *Dublin Review* will now undergo certain modifications, calculated to render it more widely popular and more acceptable to a larger number of tastes and interests.

The *Review*, in its Third Series, will aim at maintaining its traditional high standard of Theological and Metaphysical Science; in its Historical, Literary, and Political Articles it will endeavour to combine solidity and usefulness with brilliancy of treatment; and each number will contain a Summary of the contents of Foreign Catholic Contemporary Periodicals, Short Notices of all New Catholic Works, and a Quarterly Review of Science.

The work of the *Dublin Review* will be, as heretofore, to deepen Catholic intellectual life; to promote Catholic interests, to enlighten and assist those who are seeking for Catholic truth; to utter warnings against dangers to Faith and practice; and to diminish as far as possible that friction, arising from national, local or personal narrowness, which retards the onward march of Catholic principle. Its motto, as that of all Catholic journals, must be—Truth, Culture, and Conciliation.

In order to render the *Review* the more interesting, all the articles will be signed with the names of the writers.

The strict rule of anonymity had already been partially relaxed in the Second Series. The "Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement", which appeared in its earlier issues, were signed by their author, Canon Oakeley. Initials, like M. D. T., T. F. M. (i.e. Mathew), and R. E. G., were occasionally allowed to appear. Papers by Mr. St. G. Mivart (October 1876), Father H. Formby (January 1877), and the Hon. W. (afterwards Lord) Petre (July 1877) were published over their authors' full names; the object of Dr. Ward being to allow certain of his contributors liberty to express views with which he did not desire the *Review* or its editor to be identified. In the Third Series the signing of articles was carried out as a principle, though by no means



uniformly observed: in No. 9 (January 1881), only a single article, by Bishop Spalding, is signed or acknowledged! By degrees, however, the custom became practically universal. Librarians will do well to note that for the first four volumes of the Third Series the numeration of the second was continued—XXXII to XXXV; with the next volume the new series began an independent numbering of its own, and that the first half-yearly volume of 1881 is marked Vol. V. This was carried on up to the close of the series, the last volume of it being XXVI, which ended 1891.

As announced in the circular quoted, the Third Series opened under the editorship of the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., the learned Bishop of Newport and Menevia, who contributed to the first number the admirable article on "Catholicism and Culture", which opens the series. This first issue (January 1879) had also the fortune to secure an article on "The Work and Wants of the Church in England", from the pen of Cardinal Manning, and one on "The Evangelization of Africa" from that of his destined successor, Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan. The series thus began under very bright auspices, and a number of very distinguished names appear in the table of contents of subsequent numbers. Cardinal Manning is credited with at least five subsequent articles, of which the last (July 1891) was entitled "Leo XIII on the Condition of Labour", but half a year before the great Cardinal's death.

We learn from some editorial correspondence that His Eminence had also planned a paper upon General Gordon early in 1885, but unfortunately "gives it up—has not time". The article on the subject which did appear in April ("The Destiny of Khartoum") was, though not signed, from the indefatigable pen of Miss E. M. Clerke, whose industry as a Dublin Reviewer during two series almost rivals that of Dr. Russell; and we gather that Gordon's sister "wrote to the writer to thank her for it, as expressive of her own feelings in the portion where Gordon's desertion is described". Another future Cardinal, Dr. Moran, at that time Bishop of Ossory, contributed an interesting paper on "The Birthplace of

St. Patrick" to the issue of April 1880, and one on "The Condition of Catholics in Ireland a Hundred Years Ago" in that of January 1882. The late Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, brought out in those of April and October 1881 his novel theory concerning the "Days of the Week and the Works of Creation", which excited no little interest and controversy at the time. Among other episcopal contributors to the series will be noticed the erudite Bishop Healy, Bishop Ullathorne, and, of course, the episcopal editor. This Third Series also secured a large share of foreign contributors, a very rare feature in the earlier series. Among these we meet with Professors de Harlez, Lamy, Alberdingk Thijm, and Colinet of Louvain; the Abbé Motais, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, and Senator Power of Ottawa.

Other novelties announced in the programme were duly introduced, and have since remained marked features of the DUBLIN, differentiating it to some extent from other old quarterlies. The department of book-notices received a very considerable extension. In the earliest issues of the Original Series, no notices of the kind appear, but only an occasional "summary" of foreign literature; though, strange to say, for several years a short appendix of "Miscellaneous Intelligence", political as well as religious, was added to each issue. The notices of books appear to have commenced with the May number of 1840, in Vol. VIII, Original Series, but, even to the end of the series, never exceeded very modest proportions. Dr. Ward's series gave a much greater development to these short reviews; but in the Third and Fourth Series they have assumed still larger importance. Other new and useful departments now added were the "Science Notes" and "Notes on Travel and Exploration", still regularly continued.

Bishop Hedley was ably assisted in his editorial duties by an excellent sub-editor, the Rev. W. E. Driffild, whose name deserves to be recorded with due honour side by side with those of Bagshawe and Cashel Hoey. At the close of 1884 Dr. Hedley resigned the editorial chair, which was then assumed by the Right Rev. Herbert Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, who thus again, like



Dr. Ward, combined the functions of proprietor and editor, which he retained till the close of 1891. The multifarious duties and occupations of the editor's busy episcopal life very naturally threw an ever-increasing share of labour upon the devoted sub-editor, and to a very considerable extent Father Driffield may be said to have been rather the acting editor during the last few years of the series.

With the beginning of 1892 the editorship was conferred upon its present incumbent, the Very Rev. James Moyes, D.D., now Canon Theologian of Westminster, and with the change commenced also the Fourth and current series of the DUBLIN REVIEW. There was somewhat of an alteration in outward appearance, and in one respect at least a reversion to the memories of the Original "Wiseman" Series. The new first volume of the series was numbered Vol. CX, the numeration thus going right back to the beginning, and the first issue bore number "220", by a curious miscalculation, which will puzzle some future librarian, for it should have been "219". This first quarterly issue was scarcely in the hands of its readers when the whole country was shocked with the death of the venerable Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who himself had, twenty-seven years before, consecrated in the pages of the REVIEW a "Memorial" to his predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman. A graceful and pathetic memorial article from the pen of the lamented Father Lockhart appeared in the subsequent issue, April 1892, and also an article on the same subject by his future biographer, Mr. E. S. Purcell.

It is interesting also to note that the opening article of this Fourth Series was that on "England's Devotion to St. Peter" by the then Bishop of Salford, who, at the very moment the second part of his article was issuing from the press in the April number, had succeeded Manning and Wiseman on the metropolitan throne of Westminster, as he had succeeded them in the proprietorship of the "historic DUBLIN". The intimate connexion between the three successive Cardinals and Archbishops of Westminster and the great Catholic quarterly, of which this coincidence is but the outward symbol, is

not a little remarkable and confirms the impression of the very large part played by the REVIEW in the history of Catholic thought and life during the past sixty years.

It would be unsuitable and unnecessary to say more about the Fourth Series, now only in its fifth year of existence, and with the whole twentieth century, as we may hope, before it. If the past be any augury of the future, the omens are certainly propitious. We can heartily wish it God-speed in its career.

This memorial notice has been entrusted to the pen of one who has no official connexion with the editorial staff of the REVIEW, and who can, therefore, write with more freedom, and without any danger of appearing to commit the managers to any of the views expressed. Certain writers have sometimes speculated, in idle mood, what work they would choose, if condemned for years to solitary imprisonment, or to banishment on a desert isle, with no other companion than one single set of volumes. Was it not Matthew Arnold who thought he would select Migne's edition of the Fathers? The present writer is not at all sure whether, if he were in the predicament, he would not take for his choice the 118 volumes of the DUBLIN REVIEW from 1836 to 1896.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

## CARDINAL NEWMAN AND THE DUBLIN REVIEW

**B**EFORE me as I write there lies the first volume of the DUBLIN REVIEW, comprising the two numbers for May and July 1836. It is bound in half-leather with sides of mottled paper, and the back looks as if at some time or other it had been damaged by fire. Inside the cover there appears the signature "J. H. Newman" in his handwriting of that period. The next four numbers are unbound. No. IV has "J. H. Newman" on the cover, and No. V "John H. Newman". No III is cut, but No. IV is uncut except for the two articles on *Catholic Versions of Scripture* and the *Catholic Oath*. Even an article on the *Present State and Prospects of the Anglican Church* did not attract Newman's attention sufficiently to induce him to cut its pages. In No. V, Wiseman's article on the *High Church Theory of Dogmatical Authority* is cut, and about half the rest : while No. VI is cut for the most part. From this partial cutting of the pages one might infer that the DUBLIN REVIEW did not excite much interest at Oriel ; but it is characteristic of Newman, with books as well as with periodicals, that he seldom read them straight through, but merely picked out the topics in which he was interested, and left the other pages uncut. The half-yearly volumes from No. VII on are bound uniformly in half-leather and mottled paper, and they all until 1845 have stuck on the inside of the cover the bookplate,

PERIODICALS J.H.N.

which indicates that they belonged to the Littlemore library.

When Dr. Wiseman consented to co-operate in the establishment of a Catholic review, the chief inducement was that it would enable him to deal with the Oxford Movement in its pages. But the fact that he was associated with Daniel O'Connell in the enterprise proved a serious handicap to him in this respect. "To the policy and acts of Mr. O'Connell", Newman has confessed in the *Apologia* that he had "an unspeakable aversion",

because it seemed to him that he "associated himself with men of all religions and no religion against the Anglican Church, and advanced Catholicism by violence and intrigue".\* "Break off, I would say", he wrote to Mr. Spencer in 1840, "with Mr. O'Connell in Ireland and the liberal party in England, or come not to us with overtures for mutual prayer and religious sympathy."† The fact that Dr. Wiseman was co-operating with O'Connell in a literary enterprise prejudiced him against it from the outset. This feeling is manifest in the comment which he made upon the alliance of two such dissimilar persons in a letter to Thomas Dyke Acland dated 27 April, 1836:

Dr. Wiseman has just begun what he calls the *Dublin Review*, under the auspices of himself and O'Connell. Really, if one wished a plain, practical direction as to one's behaviour towards Romanism, this surely would seem a sufficient one. As no one can suppose O'Connell is to *write* for the *Review*, it is plainly but his name which is put forward. . . .

Newman did not suspect, what was the fact, that the idea of founding it did not proceed from Dr. Wiseman in the first place, but was suggested to him by Mr. Michael Quin, an Irish barrister living in London, through O'Connell as intermediary. Dr. Wiseman had no intention of allowing it to serve O'Connell's political ends. On the contrary he stipulated that no extreme political views should be introduced into its pages; and as for his own contributions, he aspired to no more than "to represent the theological elements in the journal".

The existence of the DUBLIN REVIEW had this effect upon Newman, that it made the Roman controversy an ever-present fact, and a fact that could not be passed over or ignored. At the very beginning of 1836, in the opening words of Tract 71, he described the controversy as having overtaken himself and his followers "like a summer cloud". In part this was due to Dr. Wiseman's bi-weekly lectures in the Sardinian Chapel on the *Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church*, delivered during

\* *Apologia*, p. 123.

† *Apologia*, p. 123.

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the Advent of 1835, and continued in Moorfields in the following Lent ; but in part also it was the inevitable result of the essential nature of the Movement itself.

Though the object of the Movement was to withstand the Liberalism of the day, I found and felt that this could not be done by mere negatives. It was necessary for us to have a positive Church theory erected on a definite basis. This took me to the great Anglican divines ; and then of course I found at once that it was impossible to form any such theory, without cutting across the teaching of the Church of Rome. Thus came in the Roman controversy.\*

Newman had himself been engaged in an epistolary controversy with "a learned French Priest", Abbé Jager, with whom he had come into contact through his friend Benjamin Harrison during the years 1834 and 1835. He afterwards recast his letters, and delivered the substance of them as lectures in Adam de Brome's Chapel between 16 May and 11 July, 1836. And finally, "with considerable retrenchments and additions", he published these lectures, with the title of *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church*, early in 1837.† In the meantime he wrote Tract 71 *On the Mode of conducting the Controversy with Rome* (1 January, 1836), and reviewed Dr. Wiseman's Lectures in the *British Critic* for December 1836. Dr. Wiseman, for his part, having returned to Rome after his year's absence, in September 1836, kept in touch with the literature of the Movement, and continued to comment on its progress in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW. Fifteen or so years afterwards, looking back upon the past, he recalled those earlier days in a letter to W. G. Ward from Monte Porzio on 22 November, 1853 :

I am writing this at night, in the same room, in the same chair, and at the same table, at the same hour, and in the same stillness, and with the same bright heavens as I used to fifteen years ago, writing articles on Puseyism for the *Review*. . . . It brings back the old world to me of peace and blissfulness which cannot be renewed at this side of the grave.‡

\* *Apologia*, p. 104.

† *Ibid.*, p. 64.

‡ *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 44.

In this battle of wit against wit in those days of controversy the first effective blow came from Dr. Wiseman ; and it was a blow that had far more startling consequences than he could have anticipated. To the DUBLIN REVIEW for August 1839 he contributed an article on *The Tracts for the Times*, of which four volumes had then appeared.\* At that time Newman was at his zenith in the Anglican Church. "I had", he says in the *Apologia* with reference to the spring of 1839, "supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others."† That *status* was the Anglican *Via Media*, with its appeal to antiquity against Rome on the one side and Protestantism on the other, which he had elaborated in his *Prophetical Office of the Church*. In the peace of the Long Vacation which he was spending at Oxford, he took up the history of the Monophysite controversy, and finished his reading on 30 August. As a result he found his eyes opened to a state of things very different from the views he had previously entertained.

My stronghold was antiquity ; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found . . . Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion. Rome was where she now is ; and the Protestants were the Eutychians.‡

Moreover, with the history of St. Leo before his mind, he realized that the Pope occupied a very different place in the Church from what he had supposed. While he was pursuing this course of reading, a doubt about the tenableness of Anglicanism occurred to his mind, and as early as 30 July he mentioned to an unnamed friend, whom he met accidentally, how remarkable that history was. The night before, in company with Bloxam, J. B. Morris, and J. B. Mozley, he had driven from Oxford to Winchester, starting at 7.30 p.m. and arriving at 10 a.m., for the consecration of Otterbourne Church. The unnamed friend may have been Keble's former pupil and

\* "The Catholic and Anglican Churches", later included in *Essays on Various Subjects*, II, 201-262.

† P. 93.

‡ *Apologia*, p. 114.

patron, Sir William Heathcote, with whom he dined before returning to Oxford. By the end of August he was seriously alarmed.

The history of Monophytism acted upon him, to use his own metaphor, as "a sort of alterative". While he was in this uncertain state, some Romanizing friends put into his hands the August number of the DUBLIN REVIEW containing Dr. Wiseman's article on the *Catholic and Anglican Churches*, in the course of which the writer referred to the schism of the Donatists. Newman read the article; but it left him unmoved, since the subject was not new to him, and it had no apparent bearing upon the position of Anglicanism. It is disappointing to find that the article in his copy of the REVIEW is unmarked, except for the pencilled note, "X Quid est respond.", placed against Dr. Wiseman's formulation of the dilemma: "Either the Church was so corrupted before your reformers came, that it had ceased to be the Church of God, or not. If it was, then had Christ's promises failed, which secured perpetuity to His Church; if not, whence did those who separated from it derive their authority for this purpose, or how could any act or teaching of theirs make it cease to be what it was before?"\*

Against the quotation from St. Augustine that Newman has made famous, "*Quapropter securus judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacunque parte orbis terrarum*",† there is no mark. These words Newman overlooked in his first reading. But Robert Williams, an old Oriel man, an M.P., and a banker, whose Romeward tendencies were at that time causing Newman some anxiety, although in the event he remained a Protestant, happened to pass through Oxford between 15 September and 22 September, and drew Newman's attention to them, repeating them over and over again, until after his departure they kept ringing in his ears. Their significance no longer escaped him. He saw that St. Augustine, "one of the prime oracles of Antiquity", did not search antiquity for his rule of faith, but found it in the voice of the living Church.

\* *Essays on Various Subjects*, II, p. 220.

† *Op. cit.*, II, p. 224.



For the time being the effect upon Newman himself was cataclysmic. He described it as "the first real hit from Romanism" he had received, and admitted that it had given him "a stomach-ache". He took his former pupil Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford) into his confidence, since he realized that the theory of the *Via Media* was "absolutely pulverized", and foresaw that "those sharp fellows, Ward, Stanley, and Co." would drive the fact home. Fifty years afterwards, on the Thursday before his death, Newman's thoughts reverted to those far-distant events, and he asked that Cardinal Macchi, who had been kind to him at Rome in 1879 and to whom he was sending an ivory Madonna, the gift of Frederick Rogers, as a memento, should be told that Rogers, not Froude, had been his most intimate friend, and that when he "disclosed the first dawning upon him of the vision of Rome, most misty, most vague, so doubtful thought it was", although he only just touched upon it, their intimacy ceased, and he inferred from this that his other friendships would have to be surrendered. A fortnight or so after Williams' visit to Oxford, he went to Bransgrove to stay with Henry Wilberforce for a few days (5-11 October); and as they walked in the New Forest, he revealed to his host that the position of St. Leo in the Monophysite controversy, coupled with St. Augustine's principle as applied by Dr. Wiseman, had opened before him a vista to the end of which he did not see.

Gradually, however, the vivid impression made upon his imagination faded away; but it left him with a different outlook, for he had seen "the shadow of a hand upon the wall", and he could not be as if he had not seen it. At Oxford he found that the article had become the topic of ordinary conversation. To restrain those who had been affected by it from any hasty action, he wrote an answer on the *Catholicity of the English Church*\* for the *British Critic* of January 1840, in which he attempted to show that a great deal could be said, in spite of its manifest defects, for the Church of England, perhaps even that it possessed the note of Catholicity

\* *Essays, Critical and Historical*, II, 1-73.

or, failing that, other notes of the Church. For himself, he made up his mind never to take any overt step towards Rome, under ordinary circumstances, without giving up two or three years as a time of preparation towards forming a judgement, and then obtaining the sanction of two or three persons whom he most looked up to and trusted.

In the same year Dr. Wiseman returned to England as Coadjutor to Dr. Walsh of the Central District, and President of Oscott. His interest in the Movement grew rather than diminished, and he continued to contribute to the REVIEW articles on the various phases through which it passed. But Newman had now withdrawn from the field, and left to others the burden of maintaining the Roman controversy. So we need not linger, even if space permitted, over Dr. Wiseman's contributions to it, which he has himself preserved in his *Essays on Various Subjects*. But we cannot refrain from quoting a passage from an article in the REVIEW for August 1843, which he has not included in this collection, but which internal evidence proves to have been written by him. This passage derives its importance from the fact that in it he gave his *imprimatur*, with slight reserves, to Newman's *Oxford University Sermons*, then recently published.

We ought [he wrote] to take the same occasion of expressing our gratitude to Mr. Newman for . . . his volume of University Sermons, lately published, which are indeed a most valuable and almost a Catholic production. We would specially recommend to the notice of our readers the last sermon in the volume. . . . We cannot conceive an abler vindication of the whole Catholic system, than that contained in the discourse alluded to; nor one more replete with able arguments to overthrow every possible cavil of its opponents. We can imagine no objection which is not there anticipated, against which the humble follower of the Church is not there provided with invincible weapons. Mr. Newman has indeed in this volume rendered a high service to the Catholic Church; and in saying this, we would include in the same catalogue his admirable essay "In defence of ecclesiastical Miracles".\*

In 1846 Newman made his solitary contribution to the DUBLIN REVIEW.† This was an article included in his

\* P. 114.

† Vol. XX, art. VIII.

*Essays, Critical and Historical*, under the title of *John Keble, Fellow of Oriel*,\* which purported to be a review of Keble's *Lyra Innocentium*, but which had in reality a wider scope, as a kind of miniature *Apologia*, a defence of himself and his friends, who had forsaken the Movement and found refuge in the Catholic Church.

Thenceforward until 1862, except that Dr. Wiseman's article on Achilli in July 1850 provided the material for his attack upon that famous apostate in the lectures on the *Present Position of Catholics*, Newman held entirely aloof from the DUBLIN REVIEW; and it on its side completely ignored him and his writings, not even condescending, as far as the present writer could discover, to review the *Idea of a University*, which surely called for some notice. In 1862, however, there came a change, for in that year W. G. Ward accepted the editorship, with Manning as one of the three theological "assessors" who were to exercise a certain control over him. His first thought was to enlist Newman's sympathy and, if possible, assistance, since he hoped to "avoid . . . all appearance of *cliquiness*", and to make the REVIEW the organ of Catholic writers of different schools of thought. Newman, however, had burnt his fingers over the *Rambler*, and was not to be drawn. "I could not", he answered, "write for the *Dublin* without writing also for the *Home and Foreign*, and I mean to keep myself, if I can, from these public collisions, not that in that way I can escape the evil tongues of men, great and small, but reports die away and acts remain."

In his first number, July 1863, Ward, perhaps through inadvertence, was guilty of a serious *faux pas*. To this number Manning contributed an article on the *Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England*, and in the course of it he had occasion to enumerate the Catholic Colleges. He divided them into two categories, the four greater and the eight lesser. But the Oratory School, which had then grown to a fair size, he wilfully overlooked, not considering it deserving of being mentioned even amongst the eight lesser Colleges. Newman noted that omission, and did not forget it. Moreover, in Ward's hands the

\* II, pp. 421-453.

DUBLIN took, in spite of the intention with which he embarked upon his duties as Editor, the extreme line upon the two questions that were agitating the minds of Catholics in this country at that time—Papal Infallibility and University Education. On both these questions, the course he pursued ran counter to the attitude adopted by Newman. To the DUBLIN he contributed a series of articles on Papal Infallibility, which he republished in book form in 1866 under the title of *The Authority of Doctrinal Decisions*. Newman, in his *Letter to Dr. Pusey*, referred to "his energy, acuteness, and theological reading, displayed on the vantage ground of the historic *Dublin Review*", but denied that he was in any sense a spokesman for English Catholics.\* He intended to enter the lists himself against Ward on the subject of Papal Infallibility; but found himself relieved of the necessity of doing this by the fact that Father Ignatius Ryder was doing so on his behalf. Ward seemed to regard the Pope as almost unceasingly exercising his highest prerogative of Infallibility, all doctrinal instructions contained in Papal documents such as encyclicals and the like being looked upon by him as infallible utterances, even the doctrinal decrees of the Index and the Holy Office, when sanctioned by the Pope and promulgated by his order.† These extravagant opinions, put forward not tentatively, but as the only ones open to a loyal Catholic, Ryder opposed in a pamphlet on *Idealism in Theology* with two supplements in reply to Ward's answers, which latter were not only issued as pamphlets, but also bound up in the current issues of the DUBLIN REVIEW, and in this way obtained a circulation which Ryder could not hope to emulate. In fact, Ward used his editorial position ruthlessly to overwhelm his unfortunate antagonist and to produce the impression that he stood alone, while he himself represented the voice of general opinion. The DUBLIN REVIEW of July 1868 admirably illustrates the advantage his position gave him—since it contains an article on the case of Pope Honorius, reviews of several books on the Editor's side, a review of Ryder's final

\* *Difficulties of Anglicans*, II, p. 23.

† *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, p. 284.

pamphlet, a letter disclaiming sympathy with his views, and all these in addition to Ward's own reply to Ryder, which is bound up at the end.

And yet the real point upon which the controversy turned, though not the original question at issue, might reasonably be regarded as a matter of theological speculation: whether, as Newman maintained, "none but the Schola Theologorum is competent to determine the force of papal or synodal utterances", or, as Ward asserted, "the exact claim of a Pontifical utterance, and its import, were easily ascertainable, by a man of fair ability, from the Pope's own words". Newman consistently held that the theological differences between him and Ward were "unimportant, allowable, inevitable", and "simply compatible with a reception . . . of the whole theological teaching of the Church in the widest sense of the word teaching". Yet Newman was regarded as far gone in unorthodoxy, and Ryder received what he himself spoke of as "the prophet's portion of stones".

But such superficial divergences between Ward and Newman, even though Ward at the time was so far carried away by his feelings as to attach an exaggerated significance to them, must not blind us to their complete agreement on more fundamental issues. In the Preface to his treatise on *Nature and Grace*, published in 1860, Ward went out of his way to insist upon the "intellectual relation", in which he, as well as many others, stood to Newman.

I was enmeshed [he there writes] in the toils of a false philosophy, which could have had no other legitimate issue, except a further and further descent towards the gulf of utter infidelity. From this thralldom, the one human agency which effected my deliverance was F. Newman's teaching. My deliverance was wrought, not merely through the truth and depth (as I consider) of those philosophical principles which he inculcated; but also through the singular largemindedness, whereby he was able to make those principles both intelligible and attractive to every variety of character.\*

Ward's attitude towards him in this respect stood

\* P. xlii.

Newman in good stead, when he came to re-issue his Anglican works, as he did between 1868 and 1878. The DUBLIN REVIEW contained notices of them all as they appeared, the majority contributed by Ward himself, some of them articles of considerable length, and all of them written in a spirit of entire sympathy, with a remarkable insight into Newman's mind and a profound grasp of his theological and philosophical principles. If they were collected, they would form an admirable introduction to Newman's works, and they would, at the same time, provide the student with a valuable guide to Catholic thought during that period. Here we can only pause to mention particularly the two articles on Newman's *University Sermons* and *Grammar of Assent* which appeared in October 1869 and April 1871 respectively, and which were afterwards included in the posthumous volume of *Essays on the Philosophy of Theism*. In spite of all that has since been written, it is no exaggeration to say that one must still go back to them for the clearest appreciation of Newman's purpose and meaning.

At the close of 1878 Ward laid down the editorship, and Bishop Hedley took his place. The first number for which the new Editor was responsible was that for January 1879. To it he himself contributed an admirable article on *Catholicism and Culture*.<sup>\*</sup> It is perhaps curious that, writing on such a subject and at that time, he should have refrained from introducing Newman's name; but there certainly was no compelling reason for him to bring it in. One of Newman's supporters, however, probably more eager to score a point off men whom he himself found obnoxious than to defend Newman, made an unscrupulous controversial use of this omission in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

The feeling of the Ultramontanes towards the most illustrious of living Catholics [he there wrote] could not have been better shown than in an article on "Catholicism and Culture" which appeared in the first number of the new series of the *Dublin Review*. The writer of that article undertook to reckon up the English Catholics who had made for themselves a name in

<sup>\*</sup> *Evolution and Faith, with other Essays*, pp. 221-253.



letters. The list was not a long one, and the Reviewer frankly owned that it was not. It must have been a great temptation to him to have included in it the man who, as regards the substance of his writings, stands on the same level with Pascal and Bossuet, while, as regards their form, he has shown a mastery of the varied resources of the English tongue which gives him an equal pre-eminence in the literature of his own country. But the *Dublin Reviewer* rose superior to the temptation, and had the magnificent courage to omit Dr. Newman's name.\*

It is hardly conceivable that the writer could have read the article on which he presumes to comment. If he had done so, he would not have said that Dr. Hedley "undertook to reckon up the English Catholics who had made for themselves a name in letters". All Dr. Hedley did was to deplore the deficiency in English of "attractive books on the great revealed doctrines", and to explain in what respects Faber's books, which came nearest to fulfilling the want, failed to do so.

It fell to Dr. Hedley in his capacity as Editor to write the article on Newman when he was raised to the cardinalate. This article appeared in July 1879. It is difficult to understand why it should have been the eighth article in the number, and not the first; and also why it should purport to be a review of the *Lives of the Cardinals* (Part VI) by P. J. O'Byrne. Nevertheless, not even Newman's warmest admirer could have any fault to find with the generosity and sincerity of the praise which the writer bestows upon the new Cardinal. What he wrote is an elaboration of his private letter of congratulation, from which a sentence or two may be quoted here as an indication that Newman's influence had penetrated further among old Catholics than might have been expected.

I know [he said in this letter] English Catholic feeling for the last 25 years. One of the first things that ever stirred me and lifted me up, was your sermon, the "Second Spring", which I read when a boy at school. Since then I can testify, from personal knowledge, that the whole generation of Catholics with whom I have grown up have to a very large extent indeed, formed themselves on your

\* Quoted from Purcell's *Manning*, II, pp. 564-565.



writings. We have longed for you to speak, we have devoured what you gave us, and we have all along looked to you, with pride and confidence as to a leader and a father.

One thing he deplored, that although Newman had employed his singular gift of style upon many subjects of Catholic doctrine, he had not produced any "elaborated treatises". The explanation of this he found in the demands made upon him by the controversies of the hour; he "had over and over again, to leave off building the walls of Sion, in order to sally out against some Sanballat and his marauders". It is perhaps noticeable that Dr. Hedley hardly touches upon the philosophical aspect of Newman's works. This omission is explained in an article on Dr. Barry's *Newman* that appeared in the *Ampleforth Journal* in July 1904. Here he admits that he had "never been able to accept Newman's main thesis in the *Grammar of Assent*". That remark opens up a wide subject which cannot be entered upon here. But it should be observed *en passant* that Newman would have endorsed Dr. Hedley's criticism of the thesis as stated by him, and would further have heartily subscribed to his comments on Dr. Barry's misconceptions.

The October number of the REVIEW in 1890, the first number to be issued after Newman's death, did not fall short of what might have been expected of it. It contained a fourfold article, consisting of a review of In Memoriam literature, reminiscences by Father Stanton of the London Oratory, an estimate by Father Lockhart—both former members of the Littlemore Community—and finally a contribution from the pen of an Anglican, Henry Hayman, D.D., on "Cardinal Newman: our Loss, and our Gain". From the first an extract may fitly be quoted, since it represents the feeling with which Newman was regarded during the latter years of his life:

He fell asleep peacefully in that house he so dearly loved, and of which he spoke so touchingly when last he came back to it after a brief sojourn in Rome; with his brethren . . . around him to comfort and to pray; at peace with the outside world, having outlived its misunderstandings, its anger and resent-

ment for his acts and words of an earlier time ; with many old and long disrupted friendships re-formed in the warmth of a pleasant evening of life, and with the echoes still lingering in the air of those acclamations of love and esteem which, both within and without the Church, ran like music around him as he came back to Protestant England an English Cardinal, universally beloved, respected, honoured—could there have been an ending to life very much more to his heart's wish ?

And could there be a more appropriate ending to an account of the relations between Cardinal Newman and the DUBLIN REVIEW than this gracious tribute ?

HENRY TRISTRAM,  
CONG. ORAT.

## W. G. WARD AND WILFRID WARD

OF the frequent comparison drawn between William George Ward and his son, G. K. Chesterton has said, "I fancy that the comparison has run a little too much to contrast", and he suggests that something of the difference in their positions "might be traced to a change in the outer world itself", and still more to that imaginative change in ourselves wrought by the changing times. Yet any description of the father and son as editors of the DUBLIN REVIEW must necessarily suggest great contrasts. Thus W. G. Ward was interested only in theology and philosophy, cared little for politics and nothing for general culture: while Wilfrid Ward desired for Catholics the widest possible range of human interests. Again, W. G. Ward in taking the DUBLIN said that he did so largely to prevent its being turned into a Tory organ: while it required an effort on his son's part to admit the expression of political views other than Tory. But more fundamental than these was the difference in outlook involved in the different answers the two men would have given to the question whether the Catholic Church "should still regard itself chiefly as a sort of garrison in a fort, for whom the single duty was to fight and keep the flag flying, or whether it might regard itself rather as a school with a place in the open portico or market-place".

The father chose the first alternative, the son the second; and those answers, combined with the natural tendencies of the two men, produced the most apparent contrast in their handling of the REVIEW: for the father tended, at any rate up to 1870, to gather around himself a very small party and to fight with most of his co-religionists; while his son was incapable of becoming a party man, preferred peace to war, and frankly relied for his success in the DUBLIN on the widest possible co-operation between all classes of Catholics.

When Cardinal Wiseman first begged William George Ward to take over the DUBLIN REVIEW in 1858, he agreed to do so chiefly to help the Cardinal with a weapon against the brilliant but unorthodox Catholic review

known as the *Rambler*. A rumour, which proved premature, that Newman was taking the editorship of the *Rambler* and would thereby change its character, made him quickly withdraw from his proposed editorship. He wrote to Wiseman that it would now be needless for him to take the DUBLIN, and expressed his joy in a very characteristic letter to Newman :

Northwood Park,  
Cowes.  
Shrove Tuesday,  
8th March, 1859.

My dear Father Newman,

All of us, except Oakeley, were occupied *entirely* against the grain ; nor (I think) is there *one* who would have dreamt of accepting the Dublin Review on the terms we did, except for our detestation of the *Rambler* and our wish to serve the Cardinal in his war against it.

For myself the whole thing (as I plainly told him) was a greater nuisance than could well be supposed. I am occupied with matter which interests me extremely, and for my own part would not care to walk across the room if by merely doing so I could turn out a first-rate Quarterly. My whole wish (putting it roughly) was to try that the Cardinal should feel the converts would *help* him.

We were all *delighted* to have a good excuse for retiring. I understood from Burns that your Editorship was a fixed thing, and on that I wrote to the Cardinal.

I have the most perfect conviction that at best ours would have been a *wretched failure*. No one has less right to be suspected of *false modesty* than I have ; but I am about as competent to direct a Review as to dance on the tight rope, and Oakeley is not much better.

I am perfectly sure, and never doubted for a moment, that nothing can make the Dublin even tolerable. The Cardinal is an omnipresent supreme inquisitor into every detail, and even if he were responsible editor, if there is one man on earth more unfit than me for such a post, it is *him*. Abounding (as I think) in most admirable *instincts*, but not a *reasonable being* in any shape.

I am writing in a hurry, *currente calamo*, to save the post. I hope I have made myself intelligible.

On public grounds I don't care one button for having a good *Review*, nor do I see who would be the better for one, in our miserable state of intellectual degradation. But I am *perfectly*

certain that the *only* chance of our having one, would be that you should throw aside scruples *which are most misplaced*, and simply take the editorship of the Rambler, working it into a regular Quarterly. The Dublin then must die, and I should with great delight dance at its funeral.

On *personal* grounds it would be the most delightful thing to me in the world to have again a real exhibition of yourself.

All this of course in confidence. But if you wish a quasi-official answer about our "Dublin" negotiations, such as you could quote, let me have the word, and I will send you one.

Ever affectionately yours,

W. G. WARD.

In the event, Newman's editorship of the *Rambler* lasted only for two numbers, and in 1862 Ward took over the DUBLIN. He again expressed keenest doubts of his own capacity to edit a literary review, and he certainly intended at first to muster all possible forces in the Catholic body on his side. Yet again he doubted the real utility of such a review in what he called "our miserable state of intellectual degradation".

At this stage Ward was still the ardent disciple of Newman that he had been in his youth at Oxford. But the events which narrowed the policy of the DUBLIN REVIEW under his editorship and turned it into a kind of theological battering-ram marked also the beginnings of his very strong divergence from Newman. Two events which took place on the Continent in the year after his editorship began, and the reaction towards those events of the party known as Liberal Catholics in England, had the most far-reaching effects.

At a Congress at Malines, at which the best Catholic thought was assembled, Montalembert delivered an address on liberty of conscience in which he set up complete separation between Church and State as the ideal, making his own the words that had hitherto been used in an anti-Catholic sense, "a free Church in a free State". It was not merely that he stated this as the best arrangement for the present day, but he placed it as the truest Catholic ideal and seemed by implication to condemn the mediaeval outlook of the Church. Continental Liberalism had been making

use of this cry to justify spoliation of the Church, and most even of Montalembert's Catholic supporters regarded the speech as highly unfortunate.

At another Congress, that of Munich, a still more extreme line of cleavage with the Church's past was taken by Dr. Döllinger. Instead of simply pleading, as my grandfather himself had often done, for an enlargement in the philosophical teaching of the Catholic Schools so as to include what was best in modern philosophy, he suggested a complete abandonment of scholastic philosophy. The Church apparently was to be made over again in modern Germany. Here again, as Wilfrid Ward has pointed out in his father's biography, much in the speech might have been satisfactorily interpreted from a Catholic point of view ; but the English Liberals, seizing on these expressions of Continental opinion, exaggerated them entirely beyond what it was possible for a loyal Catholic to hold.

It is generally acknowledged that the *Home and Foreign* (which had taken the place of the *Rambler*) was one of the outstanding periodicals of the nineteenth century. Sir John Acton, Mr. Simpson, and the group they had gathered around them were all brilliant writers, intensely desirous of reconciling Catholic ideals with the modern world wherever this was possible. Without a doubt, they went too far, but the simple and absolute condemnation of them by W. G. Ward was displeasing to Newman. Simpson would take Ward out walking with the avowed intention of making his hair stand on end, which, said W. G. Ward, "to do him justice, he generally succeeds in doing". Newman disliked the tone and temper of the *Home and Foreign* as much as Ward, but he still desired to save the immense talents employed in it for the Catholic revival. He was not as easily reconciled as was Ward to the "miserable state of intellectual degradation" of contemporary English Catholicism. He felt that Acton and the rest were making an honest and even brilliant effort to remedy it. He would rather have criticized them when necessary, but when possible have left them in peace.

Here then were two Catholic reviews, both edited by

men of exceptional ability, but as different as well might be in outlook and ethos. "I wish I could hope", W. G. Ward had written to Newman at the beginning of his editorship, "there was any chance of persuading you to write. The smallest contribution would be most gratefully received, whether grave or gay, lively or severe"; but so greatly were Newman's sympathies divided that he decided against writing for either of the two reviews, and in a very short time the DUBLIN had become definitely hostile to him.

William George Ward's editorship lasted for sixteen years, and Cardinal Manning's letter on his retirement gives a clear picture of his editorial programme :

I can attest how unremitting has been your labour in defending and in spreading not only the Faith, but the principles and opinions which surround the Faith. And of these I must especially note your articles in defence of Catholic education and of Catholic philosophy, in refutation of modern philosophical and metaphysical theories. In the course of this period three special subjects of great moment have been forced both by events and by anti-Catholic public opinion upon our constant attention—I mean the Temporal Power of the Holy See, the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers, and the Infallibility of the Head of the Church.

Of the DUBLIN REVIEW, W. G. Ward was, says Canon Barry, the second creator, so low had it sunk when he took it over. He introduced several new features. Current Catholic thought was dealt with in each number from the leading foreign organs of Catholic opinion. Mr. Healy Thompson and Mr. Cashel Hoey, as sub-editors, handled the literary side. "You will find me", said Mr. Ward to the latter, when arranging for his assistance, "narrow and strong; *very* narrow and *very* strong." Ward spared no pains and certainly no expense to make his editorship all that was wished by Wiseman and later by Manning; but, be it noted, what they wished was an effective antidote to Liberal Catholicism. In the then intellectual state of English Catholics, a review handled by a small section among them could hardly hope to be a widespread literary success. Ward himself,



with all his philosophical power, had an undeniably dry style of writing. But as an intellectual force its effect was considerable. Sixteen years' hammering by such a man could hardly have been ineffectual.

W. G. Ward, says Chesterton, "was an extremist; but he was an extremist in the rational as well as the religious direction. While he affirmed the dogmas of the believer with an apocalyptic absoluteness worthy of a pontifical throne, he also asked the questions of the sceptic with a ferocious clarity which might have landed weaker-minded people in a padded cell". In any time of controversy "ferocious clarity" is the first of gifts, and Ward's sixteen years' editing is divided neatly into two controversial periods—the first, mainly against Catholics, concerned Papal Infallibility; the second, mainly against agnostics, concerned the Philosophy of Theism. It is by the first controversy—in which the ferocity was rather more in evidence than the clarity—that he is best remembered. He was the leading English Ultramontanist: "Controversy is his meat and drink," said Newman, "and he is never happy except when he is destroying the cohesive unity of Catholic brotherhood." The judgement is unjust in its suggestion that he liked destroying unity and exaggerated in its suggestion that he did destroy it; if he irritated many perfectly orthodox Catholics to perfectly justifiable frenzy, it is probable that his very violence was a check on the heterodoxy of others; and at few periods has the DUBLIN REVIEW been so closely studied and solidly influential on the Continent of Europe as in the first half of his editorship. Once the principal question at issue was answered by the Vatican Council, the DUBLIN became the ground of his philosophical controversies with John Stuart Mill, Bain, and Huxley. This is no place to evaluate these in detail; but unquestionably they forced non-theistic philosophy in England to modify some of its fundamental ideas, and were not without influence in the revival of Scholastic Philosophy.

Twenty-eight years after his father's resignation, Wilfrid Ward became editor. The times had changed.

In spite of the Modernist crisis, there was not the same division into parties among the English Catholics in 1906 as there had been in 1862. The DUBLIN—which, as Dr. Barry has said, was the chief rallying-ground for combat under the former editorship—became a focus for the whole of Catholic opinion during the ten years in which it was held by Wilfrid Ward. There is scarcely a prominent Catholic during those years who is not numbered among its contributors, while the editor was exceptionally lucky in the help given him by the three sub-editors who covered the years 1906-15: Reggie Balfour, Bertrand Devas, and Stephen Harding. In the last year of the editorship, Mgr. Barnes became co-editor. Reggie Balfour—an exceedingly brilliant young convert who had had to give up important work in the Education Office owing to bad health—was rather a partner than an assistant in the task of revivifying the DUBLIN. He made of it, as my mother wrote afterwards, “a delightful adventure”. As forty years previously, the DUBLIN had again sunk to a low ebb. “You will have more worry over it than it is worth”, wrote Fr. Tyrrell to Wilfrid Ward. “I have seen death in its eyes for many a long day.”

The correspondence with Reggie Balfour shows a mixture of a certain intensity in this work of resurrection with the light-heartedness of very youthful collaborators. Stephen Harding was to write to Wilfrid Ward, then well on in his fifties, both of the enjoyment of their work together and of his hope to be able to “last a whole day” with him on the tennis-court, and the letters of the first sub-editor to the editor are filled with discussion both of the articles they should print or reject and of the hours that are to be snatched for a game of golf together or the enjoyment of some Capri wine and a not-too-strong cigar.

Immense care in planning each number is shown in the correspondence: there is to be enough and not too much on foreign affairs, just the right authors and the right articles. Even noted names are not to be a passport if what they send is inadequate. Mr. Balfour's French scholarship made him specially effective on the side of

foreign affairs, but he judged his own efforts impartially and even severely.

My dear Editor,

I hope you won the competition at Eastbourne. Turn a moment, I pray you, from the delight or agony of your recollections of the round to consider my difficulty over the Bazin article.

Great part of it is written, but it is not satisfactory. I will continue in humble obedience to your directions . . . reject it if you do not think it really up to the mark. Better to ignore the French crisis altogether than to follow up Eccles's good stuff with a lame "apology". If you reject I shall feel that it is due partly to Bazin's ideas which are not so striking translated out of his fascinating style.

The difficulty in writing about the DUBLIN during those ten years is a difficulty in ceasing to read it. The first numbers taken down at random became at once so engrossing it was hard to pass on—and there were forty numbers to look over. I wonder how many reviews would stand such a test after a lapse of a quarter-century.

"It became", says my mother, "the expression of a large and candid attitude towards life and the events of the time." But she says also, "This undertaking was more ephemeral than the rest of Wilfrid's literary work, and relatively not so important"—and here I think she was wrong. Wilfrid's own more important articles had appeared hitherto in the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, or the *Nineteenth Century*, and she naturally felt that they had there reached and influenced a much wider public than seemed possible through a Catholic review.

Yet during those years it was of quite primary importance that there should be for Catholic thought a focus, a centre and a medium of expression, that was at once wide-minded and loyal. Wilfrid took on the editorship at the height of the Modernist movement within the Church, just before the Encyclical *Pascendi* brought the issues into the open. What his father would have been at such a moment is not difficult to guess—an avenging angel and a catastrophe. Wilfrid saw the problem mainly as one of a contact that had been broken, but

could be remade, between the riches of Catholic truth and the minds of too many Catholics. To the remaking of the contact he devoted his whole mind.

Bishop Hedley wrote enthusiastically :

To me, it seems to be a great Catholic success. It would not be hard for you and your brilliant fellow workers to make up a striking and popular number of a Quarterly. The difficulty is to do this within the limits, not merely of Catholic orthodoxy, but of Catholic loyalty and sentiment. In the unrestricted play of opinion which marks periodical writing at the present day, we, of course, are heavily handicapped by the salutary claims of our faith and our spirit. Nothing rejoices me so much as to see our best men piously accepting these conditions, and yet arresting the attention of the world.

I have read the number through with very great pleasure—and with a new hope for Catholic influence in this country in the immediate future.

It is pleasant to find a letter from Archbishop Hinsley reminding Wilfrid Ward that they had been at Ushaw together and sending him an "expression of appreciation of the valuable and most skilful work you are doing in defence of God's truth. May all your efforts be crowned with success and meet with that appreciation they so richly deserve is the wish—heartfelt wish—of, Yours sincerely, A. Hinsley".

Wilfrid Ward was, as Bishop Hedley recognized, attempting something entirely new. This, too, was noted by the non-Catholic world—and nothing has surprised me more than the voluminous reviews of the *REVIEW* in the years of his editorship. In the course of a two-column article, the *Westminster Gazette* wrote :

The January number of the *Dublin Review*, which appears under the editorship of Mr. Wilfrid Ward, begins a very interesting experiment. Its object is to reconcile the methods of theology with those of science, to show that where they differ in their conclusions they do so as theologians and men of science differ among themselves, that the processes by which these conclusions are reached are equally fearless and equally unfettered. The attempt is not new. It has been made with varying degrees of courage and consistency by writers of very different types. The

special interest of the present experiment lies in the fact that it is made by a Roman Catholic review and by men who are not animated by any spirit of revolt. They are honest believers, and as such they are convinced that any conflict between legitimately ascertained truths can be only apparent and temporary, due to the limitations of human knowledge and the imperfections of human methods, and ending not so much in victory or defeat as in patient waiting for that further knowledge which has so often reduced contradictions to harmony. . . . We wish Mr. Ward all success in a venture which, to his father's son, must have special attractions.

Yet there was a certain piquancy in the fact that it *was* the son of W. G. Ward who was making this experiment. For, as we have seen, the DUBLIN edited by W. G. Ward had been a very different affair— theological, didactic, not aiming at culture or seriously at any non-Catholic audience, it had contrasted with the brilliant *Home and Foreign*, which had every quality its rival lacked—except the very important one of orthodoxy. Wilfrid was aiming at a fusion of the two ideals. After six years of his editorship, Canon Barry drew out the contrast in which the son and successor of Ideal Ward—whose centenary it was—stood, as in so much else, rather beside Newman than beside his father.

It was a question, once more, of ideals ; and [William George] Ward, to whom religion directly handled, exclusively kept in view as the sole interest of mankind, was all in all, could not imagine why Newman should deal with culture as if it were an end in itself. That in these considerations a most momentous inquiry is opened, who will deny ? How is civilization, modern or ancient, related to the Gospel ? The claims of art, of literature, of science, of economics, of the political order, what is their value where Christianity reigns ? If ever there was need of a Concordat, surely it is here. And Newman (who never would encourage mixed education for Catholics) had clearly seized the elements of which a reconciliation was desirable. He had given to the pursuit of culture orthodox safeguards, leading Mark Pattison to describe him as "the only philosophical exponent in our language" of the Catholic university system.

My father saw, in fact, in the conduct of a great Catholic review, many of the possibilities he had seen in a great

Catholic University—in esse in Louvain, in posse in Dublin.

I have found a fragment entitled "A Denominational Review"—apparently intended to be read at a gathering at Archbishop's House, but whether actually delivered I am not certain—which forms an interesting parallel with his thoughts on Denominational Education.

The recent struggle between the advocates of denominational and undenominational education, has accustomed us to regard the Catholic cause in England as identified for practical purposes with that of denominationalism. . . . Reviews, like schools and Universities, have since the days of our grandfathers been steadily passing from a denominational towards a neutral standpoint. The *Dublin Review* was first published in 1836 by Wiseman and O'Connell. At that date the *Edinburgh* was more or less identified with the liberal and anti-Puseyite theology of Mr. Rogers; the *Quarterly* was conservative and High Church, averse to extremes on either side. It was the platform whence Mr. Gladstone's indictment on the Roman excesses of the Tractarian right wing was delivered; the *British Critic* represented the Oxford School itself; the *Westminster* voiced the extreme radicalism and Benthamism of J. S. Mill. Our leading reviews in the twentieth century on the other hand have no pronounced denominational character.

The battle between the two ideals—between denominationalism and liberalism—turns on questions of such great importance, that I feel I cannot do better, in accepting the invitation with which the Archbishop has honoured me, to say a few words respecting efforts which many of us are making to interest the public in the new series of the *Dublin Review*; than to choose as my subject just that aspect of the *Review* which marks its position in the debate to which I have referred. I propose then to say a few words on a Denominational Review as such.

Here the fragment ends, but Wilfrid Ward clearly thought that the Catholic character of the DUBLIN might in fact be an element of strength and not of weakness even from a literary, political, and social point of view. For here was a central unity within which great variety of thought and fancy could find its place. Catholic might in truth mean also catholic. And so in fact it proved.



The two elements which chiefly drew the attention of the non-Catholic world were the pure literature and the articles on politics, home and foreign.

So much has been said of the amazing article on Shelley by Francis Thompson (rejected by a previous editor !) that I prefer to linger on more constant elements which formed the literary strength of the review—Professor Phillimore on Classical, F. Y. Eccles on French, Alfred Perceval Graves on Irish literature ; my mother on Methods in Fiction ; above all the articles of Mrs. Meynell. The difficulty here is to refrain from too much quotation, but so fresh and lasting is the value of her judgements, so great the courage with which they were uttered, that a few phrases must be allowed.

With the Brontës, how far Mrs. Meynell's insight exceeds anything that has been written in all the mass of Brontë literature ! It must have begun, I think, from that piercing childhood's experience so many of us recall :

We are young when we first hear in what narrow beds "the three are laid"—the two sisters and the brother—and in what a bed of living insufferable memories the one left lay alone, reviewing the hours of their death—alone in the sealed house that was only less narrow than their graves. The rich may set apart and dedicate a room, the poor change their street, but Charlotte Brontë, in close captivity of the fortunes of mediocrity, rested in the chair that had been her dying sister's, and held her melancholy bridals in the dining-room that had been the scene of terrible and reluctant death.

Of Charlotte, she writes :

She did, in fact, inherit a manner of English that had been strained beyond rebound, fatigued beyond recovery by the "corrupt following" of Gibbon ; and there was within her a sense of propriety that caused her to conform. Straited and serious elder daughter of her time, she kept the house of literature. She practised those verbs, to evince, to reside, to intimate, to peruse. . . . Encumbered by this drift and refuse of English, Charlotte Brontë yet achieved the miracle of her vocabulary. It is less wonderful that she should have appeared out of such a parsonage than that she should have arisen out of such a language.

A re-reading of her works is always a new amazing of her old



reader who turns back to review the harvest of her English. It must have been with rapture that she claimed her own simplicity. And with what a moderation, how temperately, and how seldom she used her mastery! To the last she has an occasional attachment to her bonds; for she was not only fire and air.

Dickens' much decried optimism and belief in human possibilities is finely characterized. "Thackeray is praised for his moderation . . . but Charles Dickens 'closed with a divine purpose' entirely different. He consented to the counsels of perfection. . . .

"Nothing places him so entirely out of date as his trust in human sanctity, his love of it, his hope for it, his leap at it."

But for the greatest men to be out of date and the lesser men in fashion meant only that the age had lost its hold more or less on eternal principles, whether of life or of art. Swinburne Mrs. Meynell criticized at the height of his fame. In a fine essay on Tennyson, whose centenary had "been kept by a general detraction", Mrs. Meynell wrote: "Reaction—the paltry precipitancy of the multitude—has brought about a ferment and corruption of opinion on Tennyson's poetry"; and she then acclaims him "our wild poet . . . a wilder poet than the rough, than the sensual, than the defiant, than the accuser, than the denouncer. . . . Wild flowers are his great poet, wild winds, wild lights, wild heart, wild eyes".

This feeling towards fashion and its dangers is a note of several writers. In the "Recent Books" (an element in the REVIEW deemed of great importance by the editor), we meet it often. Reviewing a somewhat unpleasant French novel, Josephine Ward wrote that it revealed "a mentality that, if understood, would, we have no doubt, be still antipathetic to the British public. But that public is very careless, very busy, and, at the present moment, has a slavish appetite for the latest thing in fashionable culture".

In an essay on "An Agnostic Defeat", G. K. Chesterton recalls the fact that, while Huxley the agnostic was supposed to have defeated Gladstone the Christian in a dispute about the Gadarene swine, quoted everywhere, few had ever heard of the crushing defeat of

Huxley and Mill (admitted by the latter) by W. G. Ward on the subject of memory.

Whenever a controversialist was "going the way the world is going" (to quote the snobbish ideal of Matthew Arnold) his victories are commemorated with a trophy. But if a man fights a losing fight—then he is never forgiven if he does not lose. If he has the bad taste to get the victory when Fate (otherwise known as Fashion) has already begun to weep iron tears over his sure defeat—then it shall not be forgiven him. He has done an awful thing; he has avoided the unavoidable.

In literature, as in all human life, there was then a need for that centrality of thought, not too much swayed by the fashion of the moment, for which the DUBLIN stood, and so felt the group who were now gathered to build it up.

G. K. Chesterton was not yet a Catholic, but his articles were certainly at home in the DUBLIN. His "Modern Surrender of Women"—with its description of the "prostrate and penitent Miss Pankhurst" owning that men had always been right in their admiration for that silly game of politics which older and stronger women had treated as childish—caused some stir among the suffragettes, who were just then a feature in English life. In Mr. Belloc's articles on "The International" and "A Method of Writing History", much was outlined which his books later developed. His fiscal articles were still more noteworthy—and noted.

The international character of the REVIEW was always kept in sight. There was a series of studies on "Catholic Social Work in Germany", and articles on Church and State in that country. There was a long list of articles by representatives of the French Church—Abbé Dimnet, Georges Fonsgrive, the Comte de Mun, the Marquis de Chambrun, Eugène Tavernier (editor of the *Univers*) and others, besides a number of highly informed unsigned articles. My father always made a feature of the unsigned article. It made it possible for some "people of importance" to express views they could not have put forward over their own signatures, and hence widened the scope of the REVIEW. Belgium gave writers from Louvain

University on points of scholarship. Léon de Lansheere, ex-Minister of Justice and Professor of Law at Louvain University, wrote on the Belgian Elections of 1910. "We must ignore France this number and gratify Belgian Catholics", wrote the sub-editor to the editor concerning one article on that country. Anti-clerical policy in Portugal was dealt with by the editor of a Portuguese paper and by Francis McCullagh. Among other articles on foreign policy noted as one glances through the files were "Modernism in Islam" by Francis McCullagh, "Modern Turkey" by Mark Sykes, "The Church in India", "Causes of the Failure of the Russian Revolution" by Maurice Baring (1910), "A University for Hong-Kong" by Sir Frederick Lugard.

The growing interest in psychology and comparative religions is shown in Fr. Martindale's fascinating articles as well as in many of the book reviews. These Book Studies, some quite long, some very short, occupied forty or fifty pages of each number, and in them can be found some of the best work that was put into the REVIEW. It is not always possible to trace the authors from the initials, but they all have a singularly sure note (for the books were, as far as possible, given to specialists in the different subjects), and immense pains were taken to keep them up to date, both in foreign and English Catholic literature and in non-Catholic literature from a Catholic viewpoint. Mgr. Benson's reviews can always be picked out, and are particularly excellent. Surely he is suffering today from an unfair eclipse, as a result of an excessive fever of admiration in his lifetime. His historical work had in it a great quality of imagination and pictorial value. Besides these, there is both in his articles and his reviews for the DUBLIN a delicate handling and keen appreciation of purely spiritual and mystical books.

My mother pressed her stern views of literary morality on the sub-editor and the family group, and my sister and I were allowed to do only a very occasional review when we had proved a complete reading of the book and sufficient knowledge of the subject to enable us to handle it without too amateur a touch. It was impressed upon

us also that a review must be well written and, however short, a little work of art. This was, of course, not achieved in every case, and my mother was told by a disgruntled contributor that she wanted reviews to begin, "An idea is like a mountain", and to proceed for half a page before the name of the book was divulged. Every quarter came a chronicle of Scriptural work—Latin, French, English, and German. The work on Scripture, both in reviews and articles, was chiefly handled by Dom John Chapman, Father Hugh Pope, and Dr. Barry. Professor Windle's well-known initials, B. C. A. W. (pronounced by the family to rhyme with Macaw) appear perhaps more frequently than any others, for he did nearly the whole of the REVIEW's scientific work.

But the feature that attracted most attention in the contemporary Press was the work on home politics by various pens and especially Wilfrid Ward's own articles. There was some correspondence with the publishers, when my father first took the REVIEW, about his own very definite political views and the possible effect on the circulation, and my father wrote :

I believe the strength of the Review and its source of success will largely be that it will represent *conviction*. . . . There are some topics on which *any* line gives offence to some. And I believe that the best chance I have of making the Review a success is by taking a definite line on current topics, and not by trimming or being colourless.

He was entirely willing, however, where matters purely political were concerned, to have articles on both sides, and this policy proved very successful. There were articles both Conservative and Liberal on the Reform of the House of Lords, and later on the passing of the Parliament Act. There were articles on Irish policy by a Catholic Home Ruler and a Catholic Unionist. There were a number of articles on Poor Law Reform, written rather from a Labour angle, while Wilfrid Ward and Lord Hugh Cecil wrote of "Some Diseases of the House of Commons" and "The Tyranny of Democracy", and Mr. Chesterton demanded "What is a Conservative?". But some political questions were also so definitely

Catholic that there was no room for divergence of opinion, and here the DUBLIN provided for a constant hammering in of the best Catholic thought on the minds of the Englishmen. Article after article on the Education Bill—by Bishop Brown, by the Editor; on a Catholic University for Ireland—by the Bishop of Limerick, by Sir Bertram Windle—brought out the permanent elements and introduced fresh considerations emphasizing what was not for Catholics an open question. "Help me to make them see", wrote George Wyndham to my father on the Education Bill of 1906 and the British public. "It is dear of them to jump at a compromise, but silly to jump before looking." The DUBLIN tried with some success to make them look.

"I conceive", says a rather pompous young man in an American novel, "that the first business of a journal is to instruct its readers." "You're wrong," comes the answer, "its *first* business is to get itself read." In this the DUBLIN succeeded. The circulation increased enormously; at one time it was quadrupled. It began to be taken as a review, at once interesting and representative of a distinctive point of view, in clubs and reading-rooms. It was much canvassed and quoted.

My mother in *Out of Due Time* described the urge that lay upon Wilfrid and which made him undertake such a work and succeed in carrying it out:

His practical English mind demanded that something should be done to bridge the chasm between the very rich in spiritual gifts and the very desolate. If he had found and realized the prevalence of some horrible disease he would have said: "What's to be done now?"—and in the same way he demanded of busy, tired parish priests and comfortable, quiet old laymen, "What's to be done now to make faith intelligible and reasonable to those who have been educated in the language of a new civilization?" That that civilization might be decadent and morbid was not the point, the point being that it was in possession of the minds of men. Greek may be a finer language than English, but it is not usually of so much use in dealing with the inhabitants of the British Isles.

If the end of William George Ward's editorship was marked by a letter from the Cardinal Archbishop, the

last year of Wilfrid's editorship marked a spontaneous tribute from the Catholic clergy and laity even more satisfying. 1915 was inevitably a trying year for the editors of reviews. It was the first year of the war, and the minds of readers were elsewhere. A suggestion was made that the DUBLIN should have a new editor. Hearing of the suggestion, Mgr. Barnes circulated a protest, the response to which was almost surprising. "I can never regret", my mother wrote in *Last Lectures*, "what was tiresome in this business, because it evoked so much that was comforting." Every single member of the hierarchy signed the memorandum. The Bishop of Shrewsbury, not content with writing, telegraphed: "Regard contemplated change of editor disaster." The word "disaster" was used too by Mr. Belloc. D. C. Lathbury, late editor of the *Guardian*, Canon Barry, and the Marquis de Chambrun all put on record their opinion that the DUBLIN was the best edited of the quarterly reviews. The memorandum was signed, with additional words of praise for the REVIEW, by many non-Catholics: Arthur Balfour, Lord Hugh Cecil, the editor of the *Edinburgh*, Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen, Canon Scott Holland (who wrote: "Pray add my name. I could not do anything more joyfully. My whole heart goes with it.")). Professors from Louvain and other Catholic Universities also signed it. I do not think that anybody to whom Mgr. Barnes sent the memorial neglected to add his signature, and his only regret when the list was made up was that he might have forgotten to send it to a few who would have been glad to support it.

It was a superb tribute and, as it chanced, perfectly timed. For within a year Wilfrid Ward was dead.

MAISIE WARD.



## BISHOP HEDLEY AS EDITOR

WITH the retirement of Dr. Ward and the passing of the proprietorship into the hands of Bishop (later Cardinal) Vaughan of Salford, Bishop Hedley became editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW and the "Third Series" of the REVIEW begins, January 1879. The *Life of Bishop Hedley* by Fr. Anselm Wilson, O.S.B., and the interesting Introduction of Abbot Butler to *Evolution and Faith*, a volume of Essays by Bishop Hedley, enable us to amplify the somewhat scanty information given us by Bishop Casartelli on Bishop Hedley's editorship in his survey of the first sixty years. In a note *To Our Readers* at the beginning of the "Third Series" we read :

The first number of the "Third Series" of the *Dublin Review* is offered to our subscribers and to the public with much diffidence. News, in these days, accumulates so fast and every topic is written on so quickly and so completely that an organ which breaks silence only once in three months is forced to pass by many things and to occupy itself rather with expositions of principle than with reviews of books or occurrences.

The Bishop had already written a number of articles for the DUBLIN. In his early training he had not enjoyed the advantages of the previous editors, Cardinal Wiseman or Dr. Ward. A full course in the intellectual atmosphere of the Roman theological schools or the stimulating experience of residence in academic Oxford, both as undergraduate and graduate, had not fallen to his lot. He went to school at Ampleforth, where he followed the ordinary classical course, traditional in our Catholic colleges. At the end of his school career he entered the novitiate attached to the monastery, took his vows, and prepared for his priestly ordination, along the lines of the usual ecclesiastical training given in our seminaries and monastic houses. One privilege he enjoyed in having as his master in metaphysics the learned Abbot Bury. The Abbot had studied in Parma, where he imbibed a thorough knowledge and enthusiastic appreciation of the Thomistic school at a time when Scholasticism was out of favour,



The Bishop tells us that his master knew St. Thomas perfectly; that he possessed that keen analytic mind which distinguishes between term and term, and uses the syllogism ruthlessly and unwearyingly. Moreover he was a good classical scholar of the old sort and his excellent memory enabled him to know by heart long pieces of Homer and other Greek poets. Under this stimulus, Br. Cuthbert Hedley, as he was known to his brethren, developed to the full all the native power that lay in him, and became, in the words of Abbot Butler, "a great dogmatic theologian and a profound thinker in the realms of speculative philosophy". Within a month after his ordination to the priesthood, Fr. Cuthbert Hedley was sent to St. Michael's, Belmont, Hereford, the common house of studies of the English Benedictine Congregation, where he was appointed to teach philosophy and theology. In these surroundings he resided eleven years, teaching, studying, reading, writing, inspiring the young monks around him with everything that was highest, noblest, and best alike in their monastic and in their intellectual life.

From this brief sketch we can see how the Bishop's training owed little to extraneous assistance but was dependent to a large extent on his own ceaseless industry and his exceptional gifts of mind and character. Early in his Belmont career, he began writing for the Catholic magazines, and in 1864 appeared his first article for the DUBLIN, "Christian Schools of Alexandria". He soon made his mark in Catholic literary circles. The appearance of a new writer in the DUBLIN, who not only showed learning but style quite uncommon in its picturesqueness, its fulness of detail, and its richness of illustration, drew upon him considerable attention. It brought him into contact with the editor, who asked him to Weston Manor; Cardinal Manning entertained him; and he was introduced to Dr. Mivart. In spite of this reputation we can well understand the diffidence that he tells us that he felt when, at the instigation of Cardinal Manning, he was offered the post of editor of the DUBLIN. His lack of opportunities for higher education was manifest to him. The DUBLIN was a standard review amongst the

Quarterlies. It had rivals outside the fold of the Faith in the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Reviews*, whilst within the fold the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review* had been brilliantly written and their respective editors, Richard Simpson and Lord Acton, were noted men. They had taken a line on public questions that did not meet with the approval of ecclesiastical authorities, and Cardinal Newman had shown them a sympathy which had been misinterpreted and which had been adversely commented upon by Dr. Ward. In earlier days Bishop Hedley had shown interest in the *Rambler* and had regretted its disappearance, but he could not take the risk of being critical of Catholic tradition. Moreover he had been appointed in 1873 Auxiliary Bishop to Bishop Brown of Newport, and he would naturally be anxious not to allow the duties of editorship to clash with his obligations to the diocese.

He was honoured by the offer of the post of editor, and, after mature deliberation, he gave his consent. As an ideal he had before his mind the reflection made by Cardinal Wiseman in an article entitled "Our Responsibility" written not long before his death :

From the very first number of this *Review* every article has been written or revised under the sense of the most solemn responsibility to the Church and to the Lord . . . from first to last this *Review* has been guided by principles fixed and unalterable . . . however long may be its duration and under whatever auspices, we are sure that the same deep earnest and religious sense will pervade its pages and animate its conductors . . . their occupation is a sacred one.

Dr. Ward had faithfully interpreted the spirit of these words in his editorship, and Bishop Hedley would strive no less faithfully to uphold the same standard. Bishop Herbert Vaughan, the proprietor, gave to the young editor his fullest confidence and sympathy.

The "Third Series" began with the signing of the articles by the contributors, but in the course of time there were many gaps. Nearly every Catholic man of letters was invited to become a contributor, and in addition to English writers some notable foreign ecclesiastics and

laymen promised to send articles. In most of the answers to the invitation, there is a warm compliment to the new editor, and in some it was stated that the necessity for a change was overdue. Amongst these Dr. Ullathorne's remarks are the most outspoken :

I am very glad to see that the *Dublin Review* has come into your hands. It is high time it became a Catholic instead of a party review. What an influence it had under its first management, when it interpreted the Tractarians to themselves and let nothing of moment pass in the world of letters that struck at the Faith without an attractive reply ! when, also, we had pleasant articles that suited the general reader and secured it a place on the drawing-room table ; and when we looked to its notices of books as a guide and a security against rubbish.

Some writers made a difficulty about the scantiness of the payment to contributors, a disposition, as one remarked, "to feed Catholic brains upon bread and water". This complaint was not encouraging to a bishop with a meagre income. Dr. Ward had been able to supplement the low rate of payment per page, but the Bishop had no resources at his disposal to carry on this policy. The circulation was too limited for the REVIEW to become a commercial success. The writers must be prepared to make some sacrifice for the cause of religion. All honour to those contributors who were willing to give much and receive little !

The editor opens the series with an article entitled "Catholicism and Culture". It strikes a note which he meant to emphasize in his editorship, the harnessing of scholarship to the service of the Church. A great scholar of the present day, Professor Gilbert Murray, has recently said that "Scholarship is just the understanding, the intimate understanding with imagination and with love, of the noblest things of the past : the great thoughts, writings, doings, aspirations, which still live, but live precariously, because they will die if they are not understood, die if they are not loved". No doubt the Bishop would have extended the idea of scholarship to the noblest things of the present and, indeed, of the future, but to acquire intimate understanding, with

inspiration and love, of the noblest things, was his constant aim. In the article he appeals to Catholic authors of ability and culture to use their gifts in the cause of Catholicism in order to counteract the influence of non-Catholic and anti-Catholic writers. He points out that there is a flood of literature treating of science and philosophy, polished and powerful, as in Huxley and Spencer, but ignoring Christianity. It captures the ear of the public, not only because of its quantity, but also because of its excellence of expression.

We need a series of books written in English in which the great mysteries of Faith shall be set forth nobly and feelingly; books between the scholastic treatise and the catechetical manual; books in which the great formulas and words of the deposit of Faith are never lost sight of, but in which the current mental views, current aspirations and current difficulties are made use of, as the limestone is poured into the iron furnace to make the truth flow more purely and the rich stream come out more fully and freely.

We should revive, he urges, the art of writing stately and vibrating prose on the mysteries of the Christian religion. There is no more pressing occupation for a cultured Catholic mind than to compare the forms and phrases of actual thought with the formularies of Divine truth. Then he makes the complaint that English Catholic literature is deficient in attractive books on the great revealed doctrines. Fr. Faber has come nearest to giving this generation Catholic theology which can compete with popular literature, but even his books do not advance Catholic culture as fully as our needs require. His great gifts of powerful imaginativeness and exuberant fancy and a mannerism of repetition of trivial traits, stand in the way. France and Germany and Italy have authors of repute who set forth the positive side of Catholic doctrine with power, beauty, and feeling, but we look to the younger generation of English-speaking Catholics for books in our own tongue.

These remarks remind us of the University lectures by Cardinal Newman, and make us echo Abbot Butler's lament :

It will probably come to the mind of every reader of this Essay, what a pity, what a loss, that the Bishop did not meet the want himself. . . . He had all the requisite qualifications; theology both scholastic and patristic; philosophy both Thomistic and modern; a powerful and acute intellect; the gift of writing "stately and vibrating" prose, with clearness and eloquence, and a warmth that captivates. (l.c., p. lxx.)

Among the contributors to this first volume of the "Third Series" were several distinguished names. C. S. Devas wrote on "The Relief of the Poor in the Early Church"; F. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., in an article on "The Bristol pulpit in the days of Henry VIII", stressed the importance of controversy and sermons as sources of sixteenth-century history; Cardinal Manning dwelt on "The Work and Wants of the Church in England"; and, on the vexed question of the admission of Catholics to the national Universities, he renewed his protest against plunging our Catholic youth into the atmosphere and the stream of mixed Universities. A defence of the Solar Myth Interpretation of the Voyage of the Argonauts is made by F. A. Paley, and Dr. Mivart continues his lucid examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Psychology; Bishop Herbert Vaughan advocates the Evangelization of Africa, a scheme dear to his heart. There were anonymous articles on "Afghanistan", "Parental Authority in matters of Religion", and "The Winter Session", lengthy "Science Notices", Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals, and twelve reviews of outstanding books.

In the April number Dr. Ward returns to his controversy with Dr. Bain on Free Will. After his restoration to health he gave all the help that he could to his successor, often writing words of encouragement, taking up subjects at the editor's suggestion, and submitting all to his judgement. Indirectly, even with his purse, he was anxious to be obliging and helpful to the Bishop. Professor Lamy introduces us to the problem of the Christians of the East; Dr. J. R. Gasquet deals with the Action and Uses of Alcohol; Mr. W. S. Lilly begins a series of articles on the Eighteenth Century. Several articles are anonymous, but the *Life of Bishop Hedley* attri-

butes the first article, "Catholicism and Mr. W. H. Mallock", to the pen of the editor. Mallock had arrested the attention of his contemporaries by his book *The New Republic*, a clever skit on the Agnostic group, written whilst he was an undergraduate. Though only a sceptical looker-on, Mallock had contributed to the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century* a series of papers on the problems of the existence of God, the possibility of morality, the responsibility of man, and the proof of a supernatural order. In these essays, he maintained that Catholicism was not only the sole form of religious opinion which is worth discussing, but also it offered a reasonable and a highly consistent solution of all the chief problems of religion and morality, and he retorts on the atheists or agnostics, be they ever so deeply dyed, that what men choose and what they enjoy, they choose and enjoy on religious grounds. There is in human consciousness a moral, ideal, "supernatural" element, and human language does and must recognize it.

The position maintained by Mallock interested the editor, and he ventures on the statement that Catholics may confidently, and even gladly, accept Mallock's proof of his case. To rest the proof of religious matters on the ideas and aspirations of the human mind may, he says, appear to some to be dangerously idealistic, but he maintains that the objective proofs of God's existence or the demonstration of the Church from history are untouched by the arguments that have been put forward. That Mallock, nevertheless, confesses that he is a sceptic is the only irrational utterance in these Essays. "A man who has seen so many glimpses of august and awful things as Mr. Mallock has seen must feel his heart urged to prayer. If he prays he will surely see the light."

In the July number several new contributors make their appearance. Thos. P. Whittaker writes on the Liquor Traffic; Robert Ormsby, M.A., reviews the famous treatise of *Origen Contra Celsum*; the demands of Catholic Ireland for justice in educational opportunities are put forward by Dr. W. F. Neville. The last article, "Cardinal Newman", was written by the editor. It is a review of a book, recently published, *Lives of the Cardinals*,



by P. J. O'Byrne, which contained a lengthy biography of Cardinal Newman. In the Consistory of May 1879, the Holy Father Leo XIII had conferred the Red Hat on Fr. Newman—an act which “made his creation as a Cardinal equivalent to a Papal pronouncement on . . . the religious history of the nineteenth century”. By way of preface is given the address delivered by the Cardinal in the residence of Cardinal Howard, in Rome, from which we quote a revealing passage :

In a long course of years I have made many mistakes. I have nothing of that high perfection which belongs to the writings of saints—namely that error cannot be found in them ; but what I trust I may claim throughout all that I have written is this—an honest intention, an absence of private ends, a temper of obedience, a willingness to be corrected, a dread of error, a desire to serve the Holy Church and, through the Divine mercy, a fair measure of success. And, I rejoice to say, to one great mischief I have from the first opposed myself. For thirty, forty, fifty years I have resisted to the best of my powers, the spirit of liberalism in religion.

The reviewer points out that “Cardinal Newman’s life offers two aspects for consideration. The first is, his exceptional power and influence over Englishmen of every religious school . . . and the second is, the special service which, partly on account of that influence, and partly by the same gifts to which that influence was owing, he has rendered to the Holy Catholic Faith”. He considers the root and substance of that influence to be “the singular gift of speech . . . he wears his style like a robe measured to his height and movement as by the ministry of some deity”. The Oxford Movement gave him his power, but whatever was done by others, Newman was the only one who gave it a voice. The line he took did not make him popular, but when he was accused of insincerity he came forward with his famous *Apologia*, which broke down the barriers that kept the crowd of Englishmen at a distance from him. English opinion has proclaimed its love for the man and its trust in his honour and his intentions, and its delight that he has been made a Cardinal. He has performed the giant’s share of



the work of removing or reversing the Protestant tradition. He has forced his countrymen to believe that a man may be a Catholic and yet a reasonable and free being and a loyal Englishman. For us Catholics he has shown us how to catholicize our national tongue in theology, devotion, oratory, history. English Catholics have grown up and thriven on his writings; they have looked up to him as a leader and a father; they may not always have agreed with a phrase or a paragraph, but they know that what he says he does not say through any policy or purely external pressure, but because he truly is, to the very bottom, what he utters; and they rejoice that honour has sought out one whom, in so many ways, they have learnt to prize for his genius and to love for himself.

This article is a noble and well-deserved tribute to the Cardinal's work for the Catholic cause. It does not discuss the whole of his writings, for it makes only casual reference to the *Grammar of Assent* and offers no comment on his *Development of Christian Doctrine*, but we know from other sources that the Bishop did not, in pure philosophy, see eye to eye with the Cardinal and would have preferred the "scholastic" approach to the fundamental questions discussed in these books.

The October number of this year has some "Supplementary Remarks on Free Will" from Dr. Ward, but historical questions form its chief feature. "The Early Scottish Church", by Mgr. Campbell, "The Age of Dante", by Miss E. M. Clerke, "The Eighteenth Century", by W. S. Lilly, "History of the Russian Kulturkampf"—Anon., and "Lord Lawrence", by E., show a wide range of interests. F. R. Wegg-Prosser explains the constituents of gunpowder and maintains that the use of it in warfare causes a smaller percentage of deaths in the contending armies. From these brief summaries it will be seen that the first year of Bishop Hedley's editorship had witnessed the faithful carrying out in the DUBLIN of the aim set before it. Whether one considers the names of the contributors or the substance of the articles, Catholic scholarship had given of its best. The personality of the editor made itself felt. His writings gave a lead and an inspiration to his fellow contributors, and

they whole-heartedly seconded his efforts to deepen Catholic intellectual life and promote Catholic interests. This high standard is maintained in the coming years of his editorship.

In the January and April numbers of 1880 there are two essays of Bishop Hedley which deal with the department of thought in which he was a master. They are entitled "Leo XIII and Modern Studies", and "Text-Books of Philosophy". Wide as his range of interests was, as we have seen from those of his essays that we have discussed, his main interest was the philosophy and theology of the Catholic Faith. Some years before this, he had written for the DUBLIN two articles on St. Thomas of Aquin in a review of Prior Bede Vaughan's book, *Life and Labours of St. Thomas*, which dealt with St. Thomas as a theologian. In those articles he had shown his intimate knowledge of the Fathers and the great mediaeval theologians. He had, perhaps rather summarily, dismissed Plato as unlikely to furnish the intellectual ground of Christian theology and hailed Aristotle as the philosopher whose doctrine was the soundest basis for the truths of Revelation. What was needed, he said, for our day was that another St. Thomas would arise to write the *Summa* completely afresh, on the lines and foundations that our fathers had laid down. Hence the welcome he gave to the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris*, which bade all teachers of philosophy eschew eclecticism and rally round St. Thomas.

Now it is vain to suppose that one can take St. Thomas and leave Aristotle. The mind of Aristotle in every substantial and leading matter, it may safely be affirmed, of logic, of metaphysics and of ethics, is simply the mind of St. Thomas.

In the second article, on text-books, he pleads for a more understanding treatment of philosophical systems other than the scholastic.

Philosophy is more than a preparation for theology; it is the highest training of the intellect as such and the informing it with absolute and immutable truth. Until the intelligence has found

the secret and the joy of unveiling principles for itself and by its interior effort, the student sits only at the portals of the temple. He has not entered in.

Other topics of general interest are discussed in subsequent issues. A plea for Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, as the birthplace of St. Patrick, is made by Bishop Moran (later Cardinal); the truth and falsehood of M. Rénan's lectures are pointed out by W. E. Addis; a literary sketch of Spenser comes from the pen of Thomas Arnold; the difficulties confronting Catholic immigrants into the United States are put before us by Bishop Spalding; the Bishop of Clifton somewhat startles the Catholic reader by maintaining that the first thirty-four verses of the Bible form no portion of the book of Genesis, but are a "sacred hymn" recording the consecration of each day of the week to the memory of the works done by the true God. A criticism of this contention is made in a later volume by the Rev. John S. Vaughan, to which a counter-reply comes from Bishop Clifford.

A tribute to the late editor is paid by Bishop Hedley in a review of a book of Essays by Dr. Ward on the Church's Doctrinal Authority, in the July number, 1880. These essays dealt with a controversy that was by this time practically closed, concerning the extent of ecclesiastic infallibility, the historical argument for the Church, and the authority of the scholastic philosophy. Towards this happy result "it is the glory and consolation of Dr. Ward to have contributed materially". That the Church was infallible in her definitions *de Fide* all Catholics agreed, but Dr. Ward maintained that this infallibility extended to her practical teaching, or her *Magisterium*. The Bishop endorses this, but adds that Dr. Ward hardly recognized with sufficient clearness what is, or what is not, included in the *Magisterium*.

An article on "Everlasting Punishment" in the January issue of 1881 is by the editor. It contains a reasoned theological statement of the Catholic doctrine against tendencies that have long been running outside the Church, to mitigate the doctrine and explain it away. The practical question, "Who goes to Hell?" is answered:

"When a human creature with its eyes open has turned away from its known Last End and when death comes and finds that habit or 'set' of the heart existing, then, and then only, is the awful ministry of never-ending retribution called in." On the difficult case of children dying unbaptized—and savages are practically children, in this respect—we are assured, in a comment on St. Thomas's teaching, that if when the child comes to the use of reason, he puts himself in due relation with his end, by grace he will obtain remission of original sin. Bishop Brownlow writes (October 1881) on the Christian Emperors and the Pagan Temples, controverting Gibbon's assertion that the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine; the genius of George Eliot—the Epic Pythoness of Science—is analysed by Dr. Barry, and in a later article the same writer describes her religion as the Christianity of the Imitation, interpreted unchristianly.

On Dr. Ward's death in 1882, Cardinal Manning expresses the grief of the Catholic body at the loss they have sustained. He points out how his genial and attractive character, his spotless integrity of life, and his great intellectual powers had impressed his literary contemporaries with a sense of eminent worth. His work for the DUBLIN REVIEW had been the main interest of his life. His labours were expended in three distinct fields. First in Philosophy, without which the intellectual conception of Theology can have no precise foundation; secondly in the relation between Religion and Politics, including the office of the Civil Power and the Civil Princedom of the Sovereign Pontiff; thirdly in Catholic education, especially in its highest form.

His writings will stand as a witness and a guide in face of the assimilating power of public opinion of English life and of nationalism, which will long be a subtle and powerful influence dangerous to the firmness and fidelity of English Catholics. We cannot hope to see raised up again in our time an intellect of such power and clearness, disciplined with such mathematical exactness, so firm in its grasp of truth and so extensive in its range of thought and perception. But we may all strive to be like him in his child-like piety, his zeal for truth, his impatience of all paltering with

principle, his docility to the Catholic Church and his fearlessness in the declaration and the defence of all that the supreme Pontiff, the Doctor of all Christians, has taught us for our guidance.

In this article, October number, 1882, the Cardinal is driving home truths for which he and Dr. Ward had strenuously battled.

A short article in the form of a dialogue in the October number of 1883, entitled "Beginnings", completes the strictly philosophical writings of the editor. The scene is set in the garden of a hydropathic establishment at Malvern. An invalid patient, Albanus, is led on by the arguments of a priest, Romanus, to believe that the certainty of moral truths is greater than the certainty of scientific conclusions; the value of intuitions which the human mind cannot get rid of is stressed, and the sources of intellectual life proved to be a person, the Infinite. The line of thought recalls the theme of Mallock's essays. Other fields of interest that the Bishop explored are shown first by two articles on the "Revised Version" of the New Testament and on "New Testament Vaticanism", in the July number of 1881 and the April number of 1884. Further he writes in January 1882 on the Canonizations of the Eighth of December; in April of the same year he comments on Pope Leo XIII's encyclical to the Italian bishops concerning the "Roman Question"; the burning question of the "Parnell Testimonial Fund" is dealt with in the July number of 1883; an appreciative review of T. W. Allies' monumental work, *The Formation of Christendom*, appears in the July number, 1884; the last article from the pen of the Bishop as editor deals with the condemnation of the Freemasons in Pope Leo's encyclical *Humanum Genus*.

Several new names of contributors occur in these later volumes: Bishop Casartelli, Abbot Gasquet, John C. Earle, Professor A. Thijm, and Canon Mackey among them. The DUBLIN continued to attract the leading Catholic writers of the period, and it kept its readers abreast of the thought of the day.

With the October number of 1884, Bishop Hedley, *rude donatus*, retired from the editorship. In 1881 he

had succeeded Bishop Brown as Bishop of Newport and the increasing burden of diocesan work that fell to his lot compelled him to relinquish his control of the DUBLIN. He had done yeoman work for the REVIEW, contributing fifteen\* or more scholarly articles to its pages, all dealing with live problems and profound truths, handled in a masterly way and expressed in a style forceful and finished. Deservedly will he rank as one of the most distinguished amongst its editors. Under his management the DUBLIN had certainly not fallen short of the high standard set by Cardinal Wiseman and Dr. Ward. To the end of his life he continued to take a lively interest in its fortunes, and showed this interest by contributing a number of articles, the best-known of which are taken up with the unhappy controversy with Dr. Mivart. It was against the grain for him to engage in controversy, but it would have been a misfortune for Catholic truth if the Professor's dogmatic assertions had been passed over without criticism, and his attitude to authority unrebuked. Bishop (later Cardinal) Vaughan took over the position of editor, and under the efficient sub-editorship of Fr. W. E. Driffield the "Third Series" ran on to the year 1891.

J. E. MATTHEWS, O.S.B.,  
ABBOT OF AMPLEFORTH.

\* Several of the articles attributed in this sketch to the Bishop are not found in the list of articles given in *The Life*, but from evidence, external and internal, they appear to be from his pen. None of his articles are signed by him and, in all probability, he wrote more than the fifteen above ascribed to him.

## MR. THOROLD'S EDITORSHIP

TO write of an editor and his work is peculiarly difficult. The record of a journal must of necessity be mainly the record of its contributors rather than its editor. But the record of the contributors is in truth itself the record of the editor. For his has been the difficult task of choosing his contributors, often of suggesting their subject and often too the delicate and thankless work of making the cuts which restricted space demands. And above all there is the immensely difficult problem of maintaining the proper balance between the editor's personal interests and individual views and the interests and views represented and expressed by his contributors. On the one hand all points of view compatible with the principles for which the journal stands should be allowed expression provided they are expressed with sufficient ability. On the other hand the editor cannot but favour views with which he is in agreement. And he will be inclined to give a preference to articles dealing with subjects in which he is personally interested.

For the performance of all these difficult tasks no editor could have been better fitted than Mr. Algar Thorold. Depth is apt to be accompanied by narrowness, breadth by superficiality. A journal like the DUBLIN REVIEW, which has always stood for a comprehensive treatment of all subjects of general intellectual interest from the standpoint of the Catholic religion, pre-eminently requires in its editor a combination of that profundity of spirit in and by which alone religious truth can be vitally grasped with a breadth of human interest covering the entire intellectual field. Mr. Thorold possesses this combination in a most unusual degree. He is, if I may so put it, at home in the depths and in the breadth of human experience. He unites a profound understanding of the "deep things of God", the realities of the spiritual life, with a humanism to which indeed "nothing human is foreign". He is a mystic, a philosopher, and in the best sense a man of the world. In short, he is a finished example of what his



friend the late Abbé Brémond has termed Christian humanism. All those who have been privileged with his friendship will, I am sure, agree that his conversation has been at once a Christian and a liberal education. His knowledge instructs, his brilliant wit amuses and stimulates, while his thought opens up intellectual perspectives, and his spiritual insight illuminates the obscure mysteries of God and the soul. And if the work of an editor by that self-effacement of which I have spoken does not allow these gifts to come to the surface, their operation is continuous underneath the surface, displayed indirectly by the successful performance of a task which requires them all.

If, therefore, I may appear to say little about Mr. Thorold, and to be occupied rather with those who under his editorship wrote the DUBLIN, I shall in fact be speaking of him throughout, as the producer without whose untiring and skilful work behind the scenes the actors could not have given their performance to the public. A brief introduction to the centenary number of Catholic Emancipation in 1929, a contribution to a symposium on Catholic apologetics, one or two notes expressing the editorial standpoint on a particular controversy, and an occasional review exhaust Mr. Thorold's personal contributions to the DUBLIN during the eight and a half years of his editorship from 1926 to 1934. When we consider the many topics discussed to which he could have made a brilliant contribution we may indeed regret this extremity of editorial effacement. An editor with so much to say and such pronounced personal convictions might have been tempted to employ the DUBLIN as an instrument for bringing his views before the Catholic public. And his friends may wish that Mr. Thorold had taken this course. That he preferred to let others speak shows an editorial conscientiousness which, if perhaps excessive, gives a splendid example to an age when self-advertisement is so common and often so blatant.

I do not know how many of the nearly two hundred contributors whose articles were published under Mr. Thorold's editorship were introduced to the DUBLIN by him. To make a very rough guess I should think that

at least half of the number had never written for the DUBLIN before he became its editor, and that of these many were "discovered" by him. An analysis of the list shows how widely he cast his net. As befits a quarterly which has never been a journal of technical theology, the majority of contributors were laymen. To retail all their names would be tedious, to select seems invidious. It may, however, give some idea of Mr. Thorold's wide and representative selection if I mention names widely known to the Catholic and in some cases the general public. There are Hilaire Belloc, Christopher Dawson, Arnold Lunn, Douglas Woodruff, Christopher Hollis, Professor O'Sullivan, Bernard Holland, Edmund Gardner, Eric Gill, Alfred Noyes, Egerton Beck, Shane Leslie, Denis Gwynn, "Robert Sencourt", Donald Attwater, Montgomery Carmichael, Joseph Clayton, H. O. Evennett, Prof. Stockley, Michael de la Bedoyère, and Daniel Rops. Besides these laymen there is a list of distinguished non-Catholic contributors: Professor Taylor, Professor Allison Peers, Tancred Borenius, Sidney Dark (editor of the *Church Times*), Dr. Edwyn Bevan, Sir James Marchant, and Nicholas Berdaiev. And a frequent contributor who is not a Catholic was Montgomery Belgion, whose stimulating and, on occasion, provocative contributions did much to maintain that clash of opposing standpoints which is so intellectually stimulating. Among non-Catholic clergymen, Dr. Watkin Williams, an authority on St. Bernard and his age, and the late Dean Armitage Robinson of Wells, contributed articles. Dr. Delaney and Dr. W. E. Orchard were already in the Church though not yet ordained. There is also a Jewish contributor, Dr. Cecil Roth, who from the standpoint of a Jew friendly to Catholicism criticizes W. T. Walsh's able but extremely anti-semitic history of Queen Isabella of Spain. The women contributors, Catholic and non-Catholic, include Evelyn Underhill, Mary Mansfield, Aline Lion, Elizabeth Belloc, Maud Petre, Gertrude Robinson, Dr. Geraldene Hodgson, Natalie Duddington, Gwendolen Greene, and Barbara Barclay Carter.

Clerical contributors under Mr. Thorold's editorship

comprise seculars, Benedictines, Jesuits, Dominicans, a Franciscan, Carmelites, Oratorians, an Oblate of St. Charles, and a Vincentian. The episcopate is represented by the Bishop of Pella, and the Archbishop of Michoacan, writing on the Mexican persecution. And though Archbishop Goodier does not contribute an article, he appears among the reviewers. Finally there is one nun, Mother Mary Salome, who writes about the foundress of her Order, Mary Ward. Among the secular priests we notice Dr. Arendzen, the late Canon Barry, Dr. Bird, A. B. Sharpe, Ronald Knox, Arthur O'Connor, and Mgr. Barnes, and from the foreign clergy, Abbé Lugan, Don Luigi Sturzo, and the late Abbé Brémond. The Benedictines are represented by four abbots: Cabrol, Cummins, Hunter-Blair, and the late Abbot Chapman. There are also six other Benedictine monks.

The Jesuits provided thirteen contributors; among them are Herbert Thurston, Leslie Walker, M. d'Arcy, Eric Burrows, C. C. Martindale; and from abroad the late M. de la Taille and Johanns. Other contributors include the Dominican Hugh Pope, Aelred Whitacre, J. A. Elrington, and Hilary Carpenter, and the Franciscan Fr. Cuthbert. The Oratorians are Humphrey Johnson and Henry Tristram, the Carmelites Benedict Zimmerman and John Lambkin, the Oblate of St. Charles the late W. H. Kent, and the Vincentian Fr. Leonard.

The range of subjects covered corresponds to this wide choice of writers. Mr. Thorold's chief personal interest lies in mysticism and in philosophy. We might therefore have expected to find a very large proportion of articles dealing with these two subjects. He was, however, too competent an editor to sacrifice the balance of the DUBLIN to his individual interests. Obviously a general magazine, even Catholic, could not devote too much space to the intimacies and heights of the spiritual life. And an overdose of metaphysics which would have made the DUBLIN a *Catholic Mind* would have made it unreadable by the majority who have no taste for philosophy and imagine that it is unintelligible because they have never attempted to understand it. Even so, I detect a concession to the editor's metaphysical interest

in a number of metaphysical studies and reviews of metaphysical literature. Nevertheless, the total number of philosophical articles published did not exceed an average of about three a year, and of these not all were technical. And on mysticism and the life of prayer, there were even fewer articles, even if we include those on the authorship of the *Spiritual Canticle*. On the other hand the various branches of history account for over a hundred articles—most appropriately in view of the enormous range covered and the wide appeal of the subject. Literature takes the second place with some thirty articles. This is the proportion which should be observed in a quarterly such as the DUBLIN.

Art, other than the art of letters, is represented only by six articles (apart from those dealing with aesthetic philosophy), and besides certain biographical articles there is but one article on music. But such is the long-established tradition of the British periodical. Art has always been regarded as the subject matter of special journals rather than a staple content of the literary and intellectual review. The same must be said of science, which is represented by two articles. Within the traditional cadres, and an editor should not normally be a revolutionary, Mr. Thorold maintained precisely the right proportion between the subjects treated, and this not by working on any rigid and predetermined plan, but by the tact of what we may term an editorial sense.

The articles which may be classified under the rubric General History cover a wide field. Maurice Wilkinson writes on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; Bernard Holland inquires, *Who are the English?*—a subject very topical in this race-conscious age; Professor O'Sullivan writes on *Irish Lawyers in Tudor Times*; Dom Basil Whelan on *Hereford and the Civil War*; Hugh Law contributes two articles on the *Marriage of James III (the Old Pretender)*; Margaret Blundell tells the story of an *Irish Schoolboy in the Seventeenth Century*; Christopher Dawson discusses the historical relationship between the East and Catholic Tradition in its bearing on the present revolt of the East against Western domination; Monica Gardner writes on the *Last Dictator of*

the Polish Rising in 1863; F. M. d'Mello on the First Englishman in India: the sixteenth-century Jesuit Thomas Stephens. Stephens, we are told, wrote in Marathi verse an epitome of Bible history, interspersed with appropriate devotions, which he entitled the *Christian Puranna*.

The centenary number of Catholic Emancipation (April 1929) brought articles on O'Connell and the Ireland in which he lived (George O'Brien), on O'Connell and Repeal (J. W. Good), and the Radicals and Emancipation (Denis Gwynn). And Joseph Clayton writes on Europe in 1829. The late Dean Armitage Robinson discusses Recent Studies of the Arthurian Legend, and Dr. Edwyn Bevan the problem of Greek Oracles, inclining tentatively to the view that Satanic agency was at work. "Robert Sencourt" compares Two Renaissances, the earlier Renaissance of the thirteenth century, and the later humanist Renaissance to which the term is usually applied. W. A. Hirst writes on the New Conception of History—a rehabilitation of nations, men, and movements unjustly condemned out of hand by the official Whig-Protestant history—and continues his work of rehabilitation in a further article, the Stuarts in History. Egerton Beck studies the Roman Law of Marriage and J. G. Rowe tells the romantic story of the Bass Rock. In a pair of controversial articles Dr. Roth from the Jewish standpoint and W. T. Walsh debate the treatment of the Jews in fifteenth-century Spain. Tancred Borenius writes on a rising in La Vendée in 1832. In an article on "Disarmament" in the sixteenth century, Montgomery Belgion recalls the peace propaganda of Colet, Erasmus, and St. Thomas More. Today, when the folly of rearmament threatens mankind with a catastrophe so terrible that the wars which aroused the indignation of these Christian humanists were in comparison a bloodless sport, their protest comes to us with a special force. Charles King pleads for the Historicity of Orpheus as a prophet of monotheism to Hellas, and makes out at least a very probable case.

Church History, so far as it can be disentangled from the history of Europe, yielded a rich harvest of articles.

Many of the topics dealt with belong to the by-ways of history untrodden by the average historical student. Such, for instance, is the article on Cardinal Acton and the Marriage of the Duke of Sussex, by Shane Leslie. L. J. S. Wood writes on the Retrospect of Three Pontificates, Egerton Beck on the Historian of the Church, Dom Basil Whelan on the Holy Maid of Kent. The Council of Trent is the subject of two articles: England and the Council of Trent by H. O. Evennett, and the reopening of the Council of Trent and the Cardinal of Lorraine by Abbot Cabrol. Mr. Evennett also deals with the Vatican Council in a review article, Abbot Butler and the Vatican Council. Egerton Beck writes on Cardinal Wolsey's Winchester Register, Dean Armitage Robinson on Incidental Gains from the Study of Episcopal Registers. The story of Lime Street Chapel, a Catholic Chapel under James II on the site of the present St. Mary Moorfields, is told in two articles by Gregory Macdonald. Preaching and History, by the late Fr. Kent, O.S.C., is a study of the mediaeval pulpit. J. J. Dwyer writes on Cardinal Pacca and Napoleon and on Cardinal Pacca and the Temporal Power. Fr. Henry Tristram devotes two articles to the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, Abbot Cabrol writes on the Pallium in the History of the Church in England, Miss Gertrude Robinson on Rome's Efforts towards Reunion, taking occasion to criticize strongly the unwarrantable Latinizations of Uniate Rites which the papacy has often condemned. The 1929 centenary number contains an article by W. F. Butler on What Catholic Emancipation Meant; by Fr. Tristram on Charles Butler and the Cisalpine Club; and by Dom Whelan, Behind the Scenes of Catholic Emancipation. Dom Basil Butler writes on Catholicism and the Mystery Cults; G. Macdonald on the Gordon Riots; Fr. Noll, S.J., on the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, whom he calls *Apôtres-Conquistadores*; M. Mansfield on the Hidden Hand in the Conclave, a study of the political action of Germany and Austria during the conclaves which elected Leo XIII and Pius X; and Prof. Harold Temperley on George Canning, the Catholics, and the Holy See. The Bill for Abolishing



the Pope, on which Gordon Smith writes, was an intermediate form of the 1559 Act of Supremacy.

The History of Religious Orders received much attention. Mgr. Barnes wrote on the Knights of Malta, Francis Grey on the First Benedictine Abbot of Bath, Dr. Watkin Williams on the *Charta Charitatis*, the constitution of the Cistercian Order, and on a monastic MS., the *Codex Aureavallensis*; and D. Murray Davey on the Anglo-Saxon nuns of the Golden Age. D. and A. Mathew tell the story of the survival of the Dissolved Monasteries in Wales. It was a tragi-comedy, for the monks maintained themselves in the hills by an alliance with the brigands, to whom they acted as chaplains. Egerton Beck wrote on Mediaeval Monasticism, and the Comtesse de Courson on the history and heroic end of the Abbey (nunnery) of Montmartre. In St. Benedict and the Sixth Century Abbot Cabrol gives an appreciative criticism of the late Abbot Chapman's thesis that St. Benedict's rule was officially commissioned by Pope Hormisdas. He finds himself, however, unable to accept it. Fr. Cuthbert writes on the Origin of the Mendicant Orders, Egerton Beck on Confraters and Oblates Past and Present, and Abbot Hunter-Blair on the Black Monks at Oxford University. C. M. Doughty's visit to a Maronite monastery is described by Donald Attwater. Fr. Martindale celebrates the Paulist Anniversary. Claire Kirchberger tells the story of a forgotten Dominican Convent—Oetenbach—near Zürich, a fourteenth-century centre of mystical devotion. In the Contemporary History of the Church, H. O. Evennett studies the Malines conversations (An Historian Looks at Malines), and Lord Clonmore describes the Dublin Eucharistic Congress.

On Anglican History there are three articles: Emancipation and the Catholic Movement in the Church of England, by Sidney Dark, Some Directions of the Oxford Movement, by Nigel Abercrombie, and an article by Donald Attwater describing the attempt by Fr. Ignatius of Lanthony to introduce into the Church of England an oddly eclectic variety of Benedictine monasticism. On what may be termed the history of ideas, there are Christopher Dawson's Christianity and the Idea of



Progress—a theme developed in his book *Christianity and Progress*, and Dom David Knowles on the Greek Witness to the Immortality of the Soul, besides articles on the History of Philosophy. On Prehistory we find an anonymous article reviewing Christopher Dawson's *Age of the Gods*, articles by Fr. Humphrey Johnson on the Problem of Neanderthal Man and the Fossil Man of Peking, and also an article on the Discovery of the Deluge, by Fr. Burrows, S.J., a member of the expedition which excavated Ur. On Education there are articles on Illegal (Catholic) Education in Ireland under the penal laws and the Irish Charter Schools by P. J. Dowling, the Raising of the School-leaving Age by Sir John Gilbert, New Ways of Catholic Formation by Dom Daniel Feuling, St. Vincent de Paul and Christian Education by Fr. Leonard, and Oratorian Education in seventeenth-century France by Joan Cormack.

There are many biographical articles. Dom Huddleston's tribute to Abbot Chapman, a frequent contributor and dear personal friend, was a fitting conclusion to the articles published by Mr. Thorold.

There are four *religious autobiographies*, accounts of conversions to Catholicism—by Sheila Kaye-Smith ("Dropping the Hyphen"), Alfred Noyes ("A Spiritual Pilgrimage"), Arnold Lunn ("The Road to Rome"), and Lord Clonmore ("The Rebuilding of the House"). And in "The Spiritual Pilgrim" Sir James Marchant discusses the psychology of the convert with special reference to the conversion of Fr. Vernon.

Under the heading Sociology we may group Politics, Economics and Citizenship by Gordon George; The Sociological Aspects of Medico-Moral Problems, and The Issues of Catholic Sociology by Fr. J. O'Connor; an Introduction to Catholic Sociology by Michael de la Bedoyère; and De Toqueville on the United States by Douglas Woodruff. Belonging from different points of view to hagiography, history, literature, sociology, and theology are a number of articles on Thomas More, not yet *Saint Thomas More*. This particular devotion on the part of the DUBLIN and its editor seems indeed prophetic of his canonization! W. E. Campbell, editor

of a fine edition of More's controversy with Tyndale, writes on the Dialogue of Blessed Thomas More, and on More's *Utopia*, Fr. Hugh Pope on More *v.* Tyndale, Mgr. Hallett on Blessed Thomas More as an English Prose Writer, and Montgomery Carmichael a second article on the *Utopia*. Fr. de Ghellinck's article on the Reconstruction of Pelagius' Writings on St. Paul, and Hilaire Belloc's Note on Ebion stand by themselves as dealing with the patristic period. And Mgr. Barnes's defence of the authenticity of the Holy Shroud of Turin is in a category by itself.

Besides these articles on past history a large number of contributions dealt with contemporary history, particularly as it concerns the Church. They may be conveniently, if not very accurately, grouped under the rubric Politics. With the catholicity of the Church herself these articles cover the globe, though the majority, as we should expect, are concerned with Europe. Sir Charles Petrie writes on France, Behind the French Crisis (1926), Denis Gwynn on the Action Française and the Holy See, Comtesse de Courson on Some Features of the Religious Revival in France, Daniel Rops on the Young Catholics of France, the Abbé Lugan on How Politics has Injured Religion in France—an impressive warning to any Catholics disposed to identify the Church with the politics of the Right—and M. G. Chadwick on Africa, the Arabs and France. On Germany there are: Is German Democracy Doomed? by Lee J. Stanley—when this article appeared in the April number for 1933 its doom was already sealed, so rapid was the march of events—and two articles by the same writer on the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany. On Austria there are Post-War Austria and its Problems, by N. F. Grant, Austria Today by Anton Wildgans, and Austria Yesterday and Today by "Danubianus". Italy and Fascism provide the subject of several articles in which the Fascist standpoint predominates. M. Mansfield writes on the Church and the Hour of Fascism, a critique of Croce's *History of Modern Italy*, and The Roman Question: a Diplomatic Retrospect (she is benevolently neutral towards Fascism); Aline Lion, a philosophic

disciple of Gentile, on the Economic Life of Fascist Italy (two articles strongly pro-Fascist); Fr. Humphrey Johnson on the Treaty of the Lateran; and J. S. Barnes on Fascism and the International Centre of Fascist Studies (pro-Fascist). Incidentally we can observe during these eight years a shift of interest from Fascist Italy to Nazi Germany.

On Russia there is *La Vie Religieuse en Russie Soviétique* by Hélène Iswolsky, the solitary article published in French, *De Profundis* by Countess de Meeus, a moving tale of heroism under persecution and Statecraft in Russia by Montgomery Belgium. There is an article on the Spanish Revolution by Sir Charles Petrie. Lt.-Col. Aubrey O'Brien writes on India since the Reforms and on the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, the Archbishop of Michoacan on the Persecution in Mexico, Dr. Edwin Ryan on the American South-West, Michael de la Bedoyère on "Humanizing America", Sir Charles Petrie on Latin America Today and Tomorrow, and Rawdon Hoare on Native Questions in Southern Rhodesia.

General political issues are dealt with by Aline Lion, National Consciousness and Party Politics; Christopher Dawson, the New Leviathan, a study of the totalitarian state; Douglas Woodruff, writing on the dream at present so remote from realization, the United States of Europe; and Berdaiev, in his condemnation of modern Western civilization, the Bourgeois Spirit.

There are but two articles which deal with technical theology: an article in which the late Père de la Taille states his view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Concerning the Last Supper and Calvary, and an article by Fr. Aelred Whitacre, O.P., on the Molinist Controversy, the *Congregatio de Auxiliis*. But there are many articles dealing with questions of theology in the wide sense. Leo Ward writes on Mr. Chesterton's Confession of Faith—the first article under the new editorship—John Butler Burke on the Agnostic's Insufficiency. In Religion without Dogma I criticized Lord Russell's subjectivist view of religious experience. An anonymous article reviews three books on apologetics and theology

by Anglican writers (Some Recent Anglican Apologetics), and in Religion as Adventure, Michael de la Bedoyère criticizes a symposium by four Oxford modernists. Maud Petre writes on Ignorance and Wisdom, W. J. Blyton on Religion, Town and Country, and Fr. A. B. Sharpe censures some unsatisfactory theological opinions in Professor Taylor's Gifford Lectures. Abbot Chapman (About a Recent Attack on Christianity) explodes Eisler's preposterous reconstruction of Our Lord's life based on the Slavonic *Josephus* as emended by himself, and Dr. Arendzen writes on the Russian *Josephus*. A symposium on the Values of Contemporary Apologetics conducted between Dr. Bevan, Abbot Chapman, Montgomery Beligion, Michael de la Bedoyère, and the editor occupies three articles. In Leadership, Home and Freedom a convert from the American Episcopal ministry, Dr. Peabody Delany, relates his impressions of Catholicism, and another convert, Dr. Orchard, describes the attitude of non-Catholic bodies as it affects the prospect of their conversion. Lord Rankeillour writes very frankly on Some Handicaps of the Church—manifestations of an excessive or misplaced clericalism—and also on Some Accidentals of the Church; Christopher Dawson on Religion and Life, Fr. Martin d'Arcy on the theology of Ernst Troeltsch. Bishop Barnes is criticized in two articles, by Alfred Noyes in The Unguarded Statement and by Prof. E. T. Whittaker in Bishop Barnes and the Mathematical Theists.

Scripture is the subject of articles on The Synoptic Question in Recent Catholic Scholarship by Professor Boylan; two articles by Abbot Chapman on the Latin Bible; The Historical Notices in the Titles of the Psalms, by Dr. Bird; Jousse on the Oral Style, by Abbot Chapman, who criticizes a theory of the oral transmission of the Synoptic material; Tobias and Ahikar, by Fr. O'Carroll, S.J.; and Fr. Burrows' Discovery of the Deluge.

The Life of Prayer and its flower, mystical experience, occupy many contributions. Allison Peers writes on A Forgotten Franciscan Mystic, Bernardino de Laredo, and a Catalan mystic, Fra Josep of Montserrat, remarkable

for his spiritual bond with a nun whom he never once met. An anonymous article discusses *Some Recent Books on Mysticism*, and Abbé Brémond contributes two articles on Père Thomassin and the Philosophy of Prayer, later incorporated into the sixth chapter of Vol. VII of his *Histoire du Sentiment Religieux en France*. Dr. Watkin Williams writes on the Ethical Aspect of the Mysticism of St. Bernard; Evelyn Underhill on Richard Rolle, Ricardus Heremita; Maud Petre on Poetry and Prayer—the problem raised by Abbé Brémond's book on the subject; and Christopher Dawson on Islamic Mysticism. T. O. Beachcroft discusses the relationship between Traherne and the Cambridge Platonists, and Montgomery Carmichael criticizes *A Recent Study of St. John of the Cross* by Fray Crisogono de Jesus Sacramentado. Abbot Chapman writes on de Caussade, one of his favourite mystical authors; F. R. Hoare on obedience as the path to prayer (*To Prayer through Obedience*), and on the function of faith in the interior life (two articles on the *Darkness of Faith*); Gwendolen Greene on the *Cherub Contemplation and Thoughts from Von Huelgel*; Georges Cattani on Bergson, Kierkegaard, and Mysticism. I wrote on the Mystical Philosophy of Henri Brémond. And the disputed authorship of the longer of the two versions of St. John of the Cross's *Spiritual Cantic* is discussed in two articles, by Montgomery Carmichael and Fr. Benedict Zimmerman. Psychology is the subject of an article by Dr. Charles Burns on *Child Psychology* and an article by Fr. Elrington, O.P., on *Recent Psychological Literature*; and what is sometimes termed para-psychology provides the theme of Fr. John Murphy's *A Science and a Séance*, a criticism of the psychological presuppositions of spiritism.

This brings us to Philosophy, with whose representation in the DUBLIN I had much to do, since I reviewed several philosophical books and my contributions, even those more conveniently classified under other heads, were all more or less philosophical. Here therefore I must interpolate a personal note of grateful appreciation for the great and unflinching kindness shown me by Mr. Thorold during these years when as a contributor and

regular reviewer I had the privilege of working under him. But to return to philosophy. There are two articles on aesthetics, Croce's Theory of Art by Dom H. R. Williams, and Art and M. Maritain, a critique of M. Maritain's aesthetic by Montgomery Belgion. Fr. Leslie Walker, S.J., writes on the Theistic Philosophy of Erigena and Anselm, Duns Scotus in Fiction and Fact, the Philosophy of St. Augustine, and Augustinianism in the thirteenth century; Professor Taylor on Dr. Whitehead's Philosophy of Religion, Fr. Martin d'Arcy on the Claims of Commonsense, and Fr. Ashton on Evolution as a Theory of Ascent, a criticism of "emergent evolution". I wrote on the Philosophy of George Santayana, on Professor J. B. S. Haldane on Science and Religion, a criticism of Aldous Huxley's irrationalism entitled A Philosophy of Moods, on the Philosophy of Peter Wust, on Plotinus and Catholic Philosophy, and on *Philosophia Perennis*—two volumes of essays on various aspects of scholastic philosophy or criticisms of other systems from the scholastic standpoint. In his article To Christ through the Vedanta, Fr. Johannis, S.J., calls attention to the truth contained in the philosophy of Sankara and its utility as a means of stating Christian philosophy for the Hindu mind. Fr. Sharpe writes on the Mystery of Matter and the Many and the One. Don Luigi Sturzo explains the epistemology of Neosynthetism, the philosophic system excogitated by his brother, Bishop Sturzo. In the Dark Mirror, Christopher Dawson defends a spiritual intuitionism as against the conflicting extremes of rationalism and irrationalism. Michael de la Bedoyère appraises Fr. d'Arcy's *Philosophy of Belief*. Fr. Hilary Carpenter, O.P., writes on the Baptism of Aristotle, and Aline Lion on the Problem of Christian Philosophy.

Science is represented by Modern Science and the Theory of Continuity by Fr. John Ashton, S.J., A Jesuit Pioneer of Relativity by Fr. Gill, S.J., and Evolution and the Concept of Species by Dr. W. R. Thompson. Frs. Ashton and Sharpe treat Evolution and the Nature of Matter rather from the metaphysical than the scientific standpoint.

Literature is the subject of a very large number of



articles. They are Oliver Cromwell among the Poets (Professor W. F. P. Stockley), King Alfred as Author (R. T. Williamson), The Coming of Age of the Irish Drama (Andrew Malone), Islam and the Divine Comedy (A. L. Maycock), The Symbolism of the Celestial Rose: An Essay in Dante Interpretation (Rose Nolan Ferall), Some Notes on Mr. Shaw's St. Joan (Christopher Hollis), The Thought and Art of Thomas Hardy (Dom David Knowles), *Ars Scribendi* (E. W. Adams), The Literary Use of Dialect as an Aid to Realism (W. B. Sedgewick), The Strange Case of Mr. C. K. Munro (Andrew Malone), The Metaphysic of Troilus and Cressida (G. Wilson Knight), Macbeth and the Sin of Witchcraft (Geraldine Hodgson), The Merry Jests of the Widow Edyth (Douglas Woodruff),\* Petrarch's Laura (H. Cloriston), The Greek Anthology (two articles, W. H. Shewring), An Experiment in Translating Horace (H. Cloriston), *Crévecœur*: An Early American Classic (D. R. Lock), Quarles and the Emblem Habit (T. O. Beachcroft), Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J. (Harman Grisewood), Joseph Conrad: An Appreciation (Patrick Braybrooke), Cowper and the Throgmortons (Montgomery Carmichael), Some Notes on Pope's Religion (Mary Segar), Stray Thoughts on Art in Literature (Sommerville Story), Poiesis and the Modern World (Neville Watts), Pepys, Apologist (Ronald Mofatt, S.J.), The Joys of England's Jane (Ronald Richings), Paul Claudel and the Satin Slipper (Georges Cattai), Balzac's Misers (David Freeman), Maurice de Guérin (Geraldine Hodgson), Brant's *Das Narrenschiff* (R. Warwick Bond), Walther von der Vogelweide (T. Barnes), Roswitha of Gandersheim (Barbara Barclay Carter), Spanish and Portuguese Literature in South America (W. A. Hirst), King Manoel and Portuguese Literature (Aubrey Bell).

Hymnology is represented by Fr. Tristram's article on Lead Kindly Light, and Liturgiology by Donald Attwater on The Holy Offerings of the Catholic Syrians.

\* This is a chronicle by Walter Smythe, a servant of St. Thomas More, of the comic rogueries practised by an adventuress who found her way into the Chelsea household. I cannot refrain from calling special attention to this article, for when I first read it in the train I was so amused by Widow Edyth that I was carried beyond my station.



Five numbers contain original poems, and there are translations of four of Michael Angelo's Sonnets and, in a special article, translations from Leopardi by H. Cloriston. The Poets are T. M. Thomas Beahon, Douglas Grant Duff Ainslie, Thomas Corbishley, S.J., Charles Quirk, S.J., Thomas McGreevy, Evan Morgan, and Irene Hay. Art as apart from its philosophy is treated in six articles: From Pistoia to Pisa with Giovanni Pisano (M. Mansfield), Baroque Art (Fr. now Mgr. Canon Squirrell),\* The Criterion in Art (two articles by Dom Raphael Williams and Eric Gill), The Grotto Chapels (Byzantine) of South Italy (Gertrude Robinson), and The English Exhibition (J. Pope Hennessy). Besides biographical articles on Beethoven, Haydn, Liszt, and Schubert, by M. Chadwick and Fr. Lambkin, Edward Magintey contributes an article on Two Decades of Catholic Music.

On travel there are: In Southernmost Italy (Gertrude Robinson), The Greek Islands, The Châlet of the Mines d'Or, and A Road to Rome (Elizabeth Belloc), Notes at Avignon (Ymal Oswin Wilson), Albanian Days and Yesterdays (M. Mansfield), and an account of the minute remnant of Samaritans who still "worship on this mountain" (Ichabod: The Glory has Departed, by Douglas V. Duff).

This latter portion of my article has inevitably become a catalogue with the dryness of a catalogue. But only such a classification of the articles chosen could give any idea of the editorial work in their choice. These articles, in the proportion of their subjects and the selection of their authors, are the block built by Mr. Thorold into the venerable edifice of the DUBLIN REVIEW. It is not easy for one who contributed to its construction to appraise its value. But however judgements may differ as to the worth of particular contributions, no one, I am convinced, would deny that taken as a whole this block is worthy of the building to which it belongs and no unworthy memorial of its architect. The distinguished roll

\* Since Mgr. Squirrell has unfortunately written very little, I may be permitted to call attention to the outstanding beauty of this article—*itself* a work of delicate literary art.

of those who during the past century have edited the DUBLIN REVIEW received additional lustre when Mr. Thorold joined their number. I am very glad to have been given this opportunity to pay my tribute to him and to thank him not only for myself, but also, I am confident, in the name of all his surviving contributors, for the kindness, tact, and consideration with which he performed the editor's delicate functions, and to wish him a speedy restoration to better health and many years in which to continue in other ways his valuable service of God and His Church.

E. I. WATKIN.

## EARLY CATHOLIC PERIODICALS IN ENGLAND

THE present generation of English Catholics have little idea of the struggle for existence, and in most cases the short existence, experienced by the earlier Catholic periodicals published in this country, yet their story is a witness to the faith and perseverance which, in spite of all obstacles, and in the face of disappointment, were displayed by their Catholic publishers. These earnest men, who fought so noble a fight, should not be allowed to fall into oblivion, and it is hoped that the part they took will be recognized in these notes on the early periodicals. The information here given has been taken principally from some communications to *Notes and Queries* 1867 by F. C. H. (Husenbeth); from some articles by Gillow in the *Tablet* 1881; from the same author's *Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, etc.

1661. THE CATHOLIC ALMANAC. Started in 1661: compiled by Thomas Blount of Orleton and continued probably down to the year of his death in 1679 (26 December). On the accession of James II it came out as *KALENDARIVM CATHOLICVM for the year 1686*, with the significant motto "*Tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium. Alleluia*". It contained the feasts, fasts, days of abstinence, calendar, an explanation of the principal feasts, and four interesting catalogues:

1. Lords, knights, gentlemen (of the Catholic Religion), that were slain in the late war in defence of King and country.

2. Names of the Catholics whose estates (real and personal) were sold in pursuance of an Act made by the Rump, 16 July, 1651, for their pretended delinquency; i.e. for adhering to their king.

3. Two similar lists of 1652.

4. "Memorable Observations"; dates of certain notable events interesting to Catholics.

In 1687 it resumed the former title *The Catholic Almanac for 1687*. This contains the Roman and English calendars; explanation of principal holydays;

Catalogues of the Popes—St. Peter to Innocent XI; of the Kings of England and the Archbishops of Canterbury, A.D. 600 to the Reformation.

*London: Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's most excellent majesty for his household and chapel.*

MDCLXXXVII.

At the end of these almanacs is a catalogue of books printed by Henry Hills "and to be sold next door to his house in Blackfryers". Henry Hills was printer to Oliver Cromwell, Charles II, and James II. Some time in the reign of the latter king he became a Catholic. He died 1713, when his stock was advertised to be sold at the Blue Anchor, Paternoster Row.

ORDO RECITANDI OFFICII DIVINI ET MISSE CELEBRANDE. 1759. THE LAITY'S DIRECTORY. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were two Catholic booksellers and publishers in London—James Marmaduke, a Yorkshireman who had opened a shop in May's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane, in 1741; and James Peter Coghlan, who had come from Lancashire to London some time before 1759. Coghlan was the official printer of the Ordo Recitandi. Marmaduke conceived the idea of translating the Ordo into English for the sake of the laity and, without asking any permission, brought out *THE LAITY'S DIRECTORY for 1759*. Coghlan considered this a breach of copyright, was very indignant, raised great opposition to Marmaduke's publication, and after a short interval brought out an English Directory of his own (the earliest known copy is for 1768). After Marmaduke's death in 1788 Coghlan had the field to himself and there was only one publication.

THE LAITY'S DIRECTORY: *or the Order of the Church Service on Sundays and Holydays For the Year of our Lord 1759*. (London. J. Marmaduke.) s. 1, pp. 24. It appeared annually (with perhaps an interval of a year or two between 1774 and 1785) to 1788, the year of Marmaduke's death (12 April). The later numbers had 48 pp. In or before 1768 Marmaduke moved to

Great Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. From 1774 it appeared as *The Original Laity's Directory* in distinction to Coghlan's directory.

**THE LAITY'S DIRECTORY:** *in the Church Service on Sundays and Holydays.* (London, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. J. P. Coghlan.) 12mo. The earliest copy is for 1768. It was edited for many years by Rev. James Horne and after the death of Marmaduke in 1788 was the only Laity's Directory. James Peter Coghlan from Lancashire, probably Preston, came as a young man to London and set up as a printer and bookseller in Duke Street. There was not enough business for two Catholic booksellers, Marmaduke and himself, and Coghlan had a period of struggle to maintain a living; but the younger man, displaying great energy, firmly established his business and after Marmaduke's death had no opposition. He produced numerous and well-brought-out books. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Brown of Clifton, near Preston, and died universally esteemed and respected 20 February, 1800. His wife was dead and he had no children to succeed to his business, for of his three sons Peter was a Franciscan, William a Secular priest, and John a Church student; his daughters Anne and Elizabeth were nuns. The business came to his nephew by marriage, Richard Brown, who had been placed in the business at an early age. Brown amalgamated the business with that of the Keatings, Coghlan's premises being retained, and this firm was for a long time the principal Catholic publishing firm in London.

Patrick Keating, who probably had been apprenticed to James Marmaduke, started in business at Warwick Street, Golden Square, in the latter half of the eighteenth century. His son George was possessed of considerable literary ability. Coghlan's business was carried on as Keating, Brown & Keating. Patrick Keating died 5 October, 1816, when the firm became Keating and Brown. Brown died 25 February, 1837, and his widow carried on the business with George Keating. The Laity's Directory from 1801 had been edited by George Keating and had been a very successful publication, but James Smith

(see below) took the opportunity of Brown's death to bring out "The Catholic Directory", which was so great an advance on the older publication that 1839 saw the eclipse of the *Laity's Directory*. In 1840 the partnership was dissolved, and Mrs. Brown, attempting to start again at 10 Duke Street, Manchester Square, soon gave up; she died in 1860, aet. 70. Poor George Keating removed to South Street, Manchester Square, but, too old and feeble to carry on, he became dependent on friends for support and an appeal on his behalf was made in the *Tablet*. He died 5 September, 1842, aet. 80.

1838. CATHOLIC DIRECTORY inaugurated by James Smith and edited by him in opposition to the old *Laity's Directory*. Smith, a convert from Presbyterianism, was a solicitor of the Supreme Courts in Edinburgh. He also edited the *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine*, 1832, and for a time the *Dublin Review* (see below). The Catholic Directory has been published annually since 1838.

About 1790. THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE. F. C. H. describes this as the earliest Catholic Magazine to be published. He had seen a copy, and he describes it as 12mo and believes that it extended to 3 or 4 vols. The editor and contributors are not known.

1801. THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE AND REFLECTOR: printed for Keating, Brown and Keating, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, by T. Schofield (Dale Street), Liverpool: sm. 8vo. Edited by Fr. William Hyacinth Houghton, O.P., chaplain at Fairhurst Hall, Lancs. Only six numbers, January to July, 386 pp.

About 1810. THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE & REVIEW.

1813. A SIMILAR PUBLICATION. On the authority of F. C. H., but he gives no particulars, only that both ceased after a few numbers.

The second is not the Orthodox Journal brought out in 1813 (see below), as F. C. H. mentions both.

1813. THE CONCILIATOR. Advertised in the *Laity's Directory* for 1813, to be published quarterly, 6s. 6d.; or in weekly numbers of 24 pp, price 6d.; 8vo. It was to contain monuments of antiquity, history,

biography, defence of revelation, the consideration of doctrines and discipline of the Catholic Church, and reviews on these topics. Gillow had never seen a copy of this publication and doubted whether any was issued.

1813. THE ORTHODOX JOURNAL & CATHOLIC MONTHLY INTELLIGENCER first issued 1 July, 1813, edited, printed, and published by W. E. Andrews; 8vo, weekly.

William Eusebius Andrews, a man to whose excellence and intellectual vigour combined with indomitable pluck and perseverance the Catholic Press in England owed much for its rapid advancement, was the son of convert parents. He was born at Norwich, 15 December, 1773, served as a printer in the office of the *Norfolk Chronicle*, and later became its editor. For fourteen years he was recognized in Norfolk as the great champion of Catholicism. In 1813 he moved to London, and on 1 July issued the *Orthodox Journal*—the professed "Advocate of Truth". The object of the paper was to combat the Catholic Board, and this Andrews acknowledged in its pages.\* The journal had the active support of Bishop Milner, who was a constant contributor and the mainstay of the venture. The journal had a continuous existence for seven years and does not appear to have suffered from a rival of the same political views—*The Publicist*, started by Keating in 1815 (see below). In the second half of 1819 Andrews and Milner quarrelled† and Milner's retirement was the death blow to this journal. The last number appeared in December 1820; but Andrews, nothing daunted, in the same month started:

1820. THE CATHOLIC ADVOCATE OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, a weekly stamped newspaper. This apparently was the first Catholic newspaper printed in England. It was carried on by Andrews until July 1821.

1823. THE ORTHODOX JOURNAL was revived by Andrews, and the issues numbered consecutively with the old numbers as if there had been no interruption in its publication. It ran until the end of 1824,

\* Ward, *Eve of Cath. Eman.*, II, 173.

† v. Ward, *Eve*, II, 186–187.



when Andrews was induced to try another weekly paper :

1824. **THE TRUTH TELLER.** This first appeared 25 September, edited, printed, and published by W. E. Andrews, 3 Chapter-house Court, St. Paul's. Andrews recognized the importance of a Catholic periodical for the expression of Catholic opinion and to resist bigotry and political injustice. But Andrews' capital was limited and a weekly newspaper an enormous expense at the then high rate of duty. Friends raised £260 to assist him. Another £50 came indirectly from the British Catholic Association, whose Committee made Andrews a loan of £125 (which he repaid). But at the end of a year, what with insufficient support and the internal dissensions in the Catholic body at the time, Andrews could no longer maintain its existence. He replaced it with a new series in 8vo form :

1825—1 Oct. **THE TRUTH TELLER: A WEEKLY POLITICAL PAMPHLET**, by W. E. Andrews, 3 Chapter-house Court, St. Paul's, 8vo, single col., pp. 35 ; 6d. Each issue bore the motto "Truth is powerful and will prevail". Thirteen numbers formed a volume, and in all fourteen volumes were published, the fourteenth being 3 January to 25 April, 1829—after which the magazine was discontinued.

1829—May. **THE ORTHODOX JOURNAL** again revived by Andrews. This, the third series, ran from May 1829 to December 1830, completing Vol. XII. Undeterred by failure, Andrews again revived the Journal under the title :

1832—8 Sept. **THE WEEKLY ORTHODOX JOURNAL OF ENTERTAINING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE**, edited, printed, and published by W. E. Andrews, Oxford Arms Passage, Warwick Lane, weekly, with an illustration every fortnight ; price 1d. It was popularly known as *Andrews' Penny Orthodox Journal* (F. C. H.), and ran to four volumes, the last number being 1 March, 1834.

1835—8 March to 27 June. **ANDREWS' WEEKLY JOURNAL.** F. C. H. says that this publication ran from 8 March to 27 June, 1836, when it was continued

as *London and Dublin O. J.* (see below). If so, F. C. H.'s date should be 1835, not 1836.

1835—4 July. THE LONDON & DUBLIN ORTHODOX JOURNAL OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE, edited, printed, and published by W. E. Andrews, 3 Duke Street, Little Britain. Andrews died in the middle of the fourth volume on 7 April, 1837, aet. 64, and at his request the editorship of the remainder of the volume devolved on Mr. John Reed. Andrews' son Peter Paul was in business in Liverpool but settled his affairs there in time to take up the editorship at the commencement of Vol. V, 1 July, 1837, which was printed and published by P. P. A. and his sister Mary Andrews at the old address and in the same style, 8vo, double col.; with engravings. Vol. I, 4 July to 26 December, 1835; the last volume, Vol. XXI, December 1845. The journal had been working at a loss, and one more number was issued 1 January, 1846, No. 538, Vol. XXI, price 6d., in which the editor stated that the continuance of the journal will depend on the demand for that number. F. C. H. says that after November 1845 it became a monthly. There is no evidence of publication after January 1846.

1815—July to Dec. THE PUBLICIST OR CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER, printed and published by Keating, Brown & Keating, London: 38 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square; 8vo. Edited by George Keating, who brought it out as a rival to the *Orthodox Journal*. It contained many valuable papers and criticisms of Anti-Catholic publications, but its irregular appearance was against its success, and at the end of Vol. I its name was changed to:

1816—Jan. THE CATHOLICON OR CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER: A Roman Catholic Magazine; 8vo, monthly. Starting in January 1816, a Second Series commenced April 1818, but lasted only to the December. In all there were six volumes, which in the *Laity's Directory* for 1820 were advertised for sale at £2 2s. 6d. The publication was revived as a Third Series:

1823—Jan. THE CATHOLIC SPECTATOR, SELECTOR & MONITOR, OR CATHOLICON:

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Third Series. London: Keating, Brown & Keating, 38 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, and Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row; 8vo; monthly; price 1s. All three series were edited by George Keating. In all, four volumes were published, the last number being December 1826. They contain some valuable historical documents and original matter, Rev. George Oliver, D.D., being a frequent contributor.

1818—Feb. THE CATHOLIC GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE; BY SYLVESTER PALMER, GENT. London; 8vo; double col.; 84 pp.; price 2s.; illustrated; printed by William Flint, Old Bailey (later by F. Marshall, Kenton Street); published by James Willson, 7 Rathbone Place.

The real editor and the chief supporter was Charles Butler, who carried it on for a year at considerable pecuniary loss. It was well got up, full of interesting matter, with good illustrations. It ceased with the February 1819 number.

1818—5 Dec. THE CATHOLIC VINDICATOR. Glasgow; weekly; price 2d. This was a newspaper written entirely by George Andrews and started by him as an answer to a bigoted Glasgow paper called *The Protestant*. It came to an end when a law was passed prohibiting the sale of newspapers under sixpence, and partly through political differences among the Catholics of Glasgow. It forms a volume of 830 pp.

1819—THE CATHOLIC ADVOCATE. This was another attempt by Andrews at a weekly paper which lasted for nine months. Further particulars are wanting.

1822—Jan. THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE. An exclusively political pamphlet which only survived for seven weeks.

1822—1 Jan. THE CATHOLIC MISCELLANY. London; 8vo; single col.; printed and published by and for Ambrose Cudden, 2 Carthusian Street, Charterhouse Square; price 1s. Cudden came from Bungay to settle in London and start this magazine. Andrews, however, had the greater share in its management, and Gillow says that, while Cudden was the nominal editor, Andrews was really sole editor after the second number

until June 1823, when Cudden took over sole charge and moved to 62 Paternoster Row. On the cover of the number for March 1824 is a notice which evidently refers to some ill-feeling existing between the "old establishment" (Keating & Brown) and the editor, for he declares, "We have no more to do with Mr. Andrews' concern than we have with the one in Duke Street [Keating], our venerable mother establishment." At the close of Vol. V, June 1826, Cudden was in financial difficulty and the paper passed into other hands. This volume was published by Coe & Moore, 27 Old Change, and contained 120 pp. less than the previous volumes. Vol. VI was published by Sherwood & Co., 26 Paternoster Row, the illustrations being discontinued and the price raised to 1s. 6d. Though no longer proprietor, Cudden remained editor until the end of Vol. IX, June 1828. In the previous April the publishers failed and the magazine was sold, and the April number contains a public appeal by Rev. T. M. McDonnell for funds to enable him to take over the paper. As a result the paper came out as :

1828—July. THE CATHOLIC MISCELLANY AND MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF INFORMATION: New Series. This was under the sole management of Rev. T. M. McDonnell of St. Peter's, Birmingham, and published by Robbins & Co., London; Vol. I, July to December 1828, with the illustrations resumed; Vol. II, January to June 1829, and with the March number the price was reduced to the original shilling. With Vol. III, January to May 1830, publication ceased as for some time the magazine had been produced at a loss. About this time Cudden published a well-got-up and useful *Catholic Pocket-book*, but it was soon discontinued for lack of support.

1825. CAPTAIN ROCK IN LONDON, OR THE CHIEFTAIN'S WEEKLY GAZETTE. 4to; triple col.; occasional woodcuts; price 2d. Edited in 1825 and 1826 by Mr. Whitty, a native of Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, a rival of George Andrews. He gave up this publication to edit the *Liverpool Journal*, published by old Mr. Frank Rockliff, Castle Street, Liverpool.

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Later on he left this to become a Superintendent of Police in that city, but finally returned to the *Liverpool Journal* and became its proprietor. When the penny Press commenced, the *Journal* became a daily paper under the name of the *Liverpool Daily News*.

1825—Jan. THE MONTHLY CATHOLIC ADVOCATE. 8vo; double col.; price 6d.; printed by J. A. Robinson, 44 Deansgate, Manchester. It was to be a miscellany, instructing and amusing: would contain news but no politics except about Emancipation. Probably it had a very short existence.

1825. THE CATHOLIC FRIEND. Fortnightly; 8vo. By W. E. Andrews assisted by several literary gentlemen. London, printed and published by the Editor, No. 3 Chapter-house Court, St. Paul's. No. 1, Candlemas Day, 1825; No. 2, St. Valentine's Day; No. 3, St. David's Day; No. 4, St. Patrick's Day. In all 64 pp., and it is doubtful whether any more numbers were published.

1828—1 March. THE CATHOLIC JOURNAL. A weekly newspaper published every Saturday; small 8vo; double col.; price 7d.; printed by Bradbury and Dent, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, and published by Keating & Brown, 38 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. Edited by T. M. Quin, who in the prospectus issued 23 February, 1828, states that the object of the paper is to further the interests of the British Catholic Association; but at the same time he disclaims all connexion with the Committee of that body. The prospectus made a violent attack on Andrews and his paper *The Truth Teller*, which it called "a teller of falsehood and a firebrand of discord". Andrews' answer in *The Truth Teller* (1 March) is that he does not know who may be the editor, but he notices that the *Journal* issues from the Protestant contractors for printing the British Catholic Association's tracts and is published by the "old firm" in Duke Street. From 31 May to 31 December the format was changed to 4to; on 4 January, 1829, it took on the ordinary folio size of a newspaper. It ceased publication with the number March 1829. Gillow says that Quin continued until unable or unwilling to con-

tend any longer with the discouragements attending the launching of a Catholic Magazine and gave it up to assist in the editorship of the *Morning Chronicle*. F. C. H. says that the Journal was started to further the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and it ceased when that was accomplished.

About 1828. **THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATOR**. A weekly; printed and published by W. Bragg, Cheap-side, Taunton. Editor's initials T. C. B. This is known only from its second number, 24 April, 1828, through an extract from it contained in a tract in the British Museum.

1828. **THE CHRISTIAN TABLET** No 1. 1828; 8vo; pp. 16; price 3d. Published by Keating & Brown, Printers, 38 Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, and 63 Paternoster Row. A notice at the head of the first leaf states, "Circumstances not stated periods will control this publication."

It contains an account of an extraordinary cure brought about through Holy Communion; the mandate of the Bishop of Poitiers regarding the apparition of a Cross at Migné; and the Exhortation made to Miss Jane Taylor on the occasion of her taking the Religious Habit at the English Nunnery, Sion House, Lisbon, 26 October, 1824 (from the original MS.).

This copy of No. 1 is at Syon Abbey, S. Brent. Were any more numbers published?

1831—Feb. **THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE AND REVIEW**. 8vo; single col.; illus.; monthly. Printed by R. P. Stone, 5 Cherry Street, Birmingham, and published by him; by Joseph Booker and Messrs. Keating & Co., London; Messrs. Rockliff & Duckworth, Liverpool; and Mr. Williams, Cheltenham. An Editorial Committee consisted of Rev. T. M. McDonnell of Birmingham (Acting Editor), Dr. John Kirk of Lichfield, F. Martin of Walsall, J. Gascoigne of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and E. Peach of Birmingham. This magazine was the property of a number of the Catholic clergy of the Midland District and was, in its time, the best conducted and the most influential of Catholic periodicals, but was intended exclusively for Catholics



and did not penetrate beyond that body. The first number contains an address to the Catholic clergy and laity of the United Kingdom and is signed by fifty-eight of the clergy. Commencing in February 1831 it lasted until the end of Vol. VI, December 1835, and with the new year it changed its name to :

1836—Jan. **THE CATHOLICON**. Printed by M. Smith, 2 St. Peter's Row, Birmingham. The reason given for the change of name was that for the sake of economy it would in future be printed at the press attached to the Charity Schools of St. Peter's Chapel ; but the real reason was the secession of its clerical proprietors. Its issue was irregular and ceased with the eighth number, Vol. I, January to July 1836 (Nos. 1 to 7) ; the eighth number is undated.

1832—April. **THE EDINBURGH CATHOLIC MAGAZINE**. Monthly ; 24 to 30 pp. ; price 6d. ; printed by G. W. Boyd & Co. This magazine was undertaken by a convert, Mr. James Smith of Edinburgh. Vol. I closed with No. 18, September 1833, and after two more numbers publication was suspended. A year or two later Mr. Smith came to London to reside, and :

1837—Feb. A *New Series* was started, printed by Richards, 100 St. Martin's Lane, London, and published by Simpkin, Marshall & Co., Stationers' Court ; price 1s. Vol. I, February to December 1837. In April 1838, in the middle of Vol. II (January to December 1838), the name "Edinburgh" was dropped as misleading.

1838—April. **THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE**. Price 1s. Published by Charles Dolman, 61 New Bond Street. Vol. III, January to December 1839, and so on until end of Vol. VI (December 1842).

In January 1843 a *Third Series* began, edited by Mr. T. Hog, and was advertised at the time as "the only Catholic periodical published in Great Britain". With the number for June 1844 the publication ceased.

Charles Dolman's printing and publishing firm was responsible for the great progress made in the production of Catholic books and periodicals at this period. The founder of the firm was Thomas Booker, who established



a business at 56 New Bond Street. On his death in 1793 his widow Elizabeth carried on the business with the aid of her two sons, Thomas and Joseph. She had two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, the latter married to Charles Dolman of Monmouth. Mrs. Booker died 26 February, 1821, and Thomas, before his death in February 1826, had dissociated himself from Joseph, who removed to 61 New Bond Street, where he was highly respected for his activity in Catholic affairs and his many creditable publications. He died in March 1837, when his sister Mary succeeded him and invited her nephews Charles Dolman and Thomas Booker Junr. to join the firm. Shortly before her death, 2 August, 1840, the name of the firm became "Booker & Dolman"; and after her death Charles Dolman became sole proprietor, and the firm "Charles Dolman". Dolman was energetic in the publication of Catholic periodicals until 1850, when he turned his attention to the publication of Catholic works like Rock's "Faith of our Fathers", Kenelm Digby's works, etc., and produced them in a style far surpassing anything hitherto attempted by the Catholic Press. Unfortunately there was not a sufficient Catholic public to support these costly publications and their production brought Dolman to the verge of bankruptcy. In 1858 he tried to form a company that he might carry on, but it was a failure, and broken in health and disappointed he retired to Paris, where he died 31 December, 1863.

1832. AN EASTER OFFERING. 8vo.; with plates; London: T. Booker. A Catholic Annual for the year 1832.

1834. THE BRITISH COLONIAL QUARTERLY INTELLIGENCER. Only four numbers published; 8vo.; price 2s. 6d.

1836—Jan. THE MEDIATOR & BRITISH CATHOLIC ADVOCATE. A weekly newspaper of undecided politics. This was started by a convert, Mr. E. W. B. Lee, a bank cashier, on the ground that at the time there was no weekly Catholic newspaper in existence and that "a desirable family paper for all classes and sentiments" was needed. The management was feeble

and its colourless politics appealed to none. It soon died a natural death.

1836—May. **THE DUBLIN REVIEW: A Quarterly and Critical Review.** The idea of this review originated with Michael Joseph Quin, an Irishman practising at the English Bar, but whose main occupation was journalism. With the help of Dr. Nicholas Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell the project was started. The strength of the Review lay in Wiseman's reputation and O'Connell's influence with the Irish. Quin edited No. 1 (May 1836) and No. 2, but seeing that the venture would not be financially successful he resigned, and very soon O'Connell lost interest in the undertaking. Wiseman continued it on his own responsibility. No. 3 was edited by Mark Tierney, Nos. 4 and 5 by James Smith. Then Bagshawe became nominal editor (the real editor being Wiseman) and retained the title until July 1863, when a New Series commenced with W. G. Ward as Editor.\* In 1836 the Review was printed by William Spooner, 377 Strand, London; in 1838 by Booker & Dolman; from 1839 to 1844 by Charles Dolman; and from 1845 to 1863 by T. Richardson & Son, Derby. With the New Series, Burns & Lambert, 17 Portman Square and 63 Paternoster Row, became the publishers; with the Third Series begun in 1879 the firm had become Burns, Lambert & Oates. The Review is now in its 100th year.

1837. **THE BRITISH AND IRISH CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.** Issued monthly by Mr. Kennedy, Glasgow, but only a few numbers published.

1838. **THE CATHOLIC DIRECTORY AND ANNUAL REGISTER** for 1838. We have already pointed out that this was started with 1838 in opposition to the old Laity's Directory. It is still issued annually.

1839—Sept. **THE PENNY CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.** Weekly; 8vo; price 1d. London: Keating and Brown. Edited by Matthew P. Hayes. Commenced 7 September, 1839, it was completed in two and a half volumes in 1840. At first it received great encouragement,

\* In 1862 Wiseman transferred the *Review* to Manning, who appointed Dr. W. G. Ward as editor (according to Purcell's *Life of Manning*); but Wilfrid Ward in his *Life of Newman* says that Manning gave over both proprietorship and editorship to W. G. Ward.

but this support waned and it came to an end before the completion of Vol. III (Gillow); but F. C. H. says that it stopped when Hayes went to Ireland to edit an Irish paper.

1839. THE CATHOLIC PULPIT. Monthly; 6d.; 2 volumes. These sermons appeared first as a periodical and met with a warm reception. They were printed by R. P. Stone, 36 Bull Street, Birmingham, the contributors being priests who had made their studies at the English College, Lisbon. Vol. I, 1839, is dedicated *Almae Matri Coll. SS. Pet. et Paul. Ulyssip.* and contains thirty-three sermons for the Sundays and holydays, Advent to Pentecost. Vol. II, 1840, dedicated to Dr. Edmund Winstanley, President of the English College, Lisbon, contains 28 sermons covering the rest of the liturgical year.

*The Catholic Pulpit* published by John Ringrose, Catholic Bookseller, 11 Sherrard Street, Golden Square, 1849, was not a periodical.

1840—6 Feb. THE PHOENIX: *A Political Literary, and Scientific Journal*. A weekly newspaper; 8vo (from No. 7 in 4to); price 6d. Edinburgh. Edited by Dr. D. Cox, M.D. Dr. Cox, with the promise of support from Mr. Wilkie, a recent convert of considerable abilities, wished to establish a Catholic newspaper in which Catholic views would be stated and Catholic claims urged, there being then no such paper. He started the *Phoenix* with a very fair circulation, but other zealous Catholics with the same idea, and with more powerful patronage, started *The Tablet*, published in London. There was not room for two such papers, and as *The Tablet* would not amalgamate with the *Phoenix*, Dr. Cox discontinued the latter. F. C. H. says the *Phoenix* lasted about nine months; Gillow says 6 February, 1840, to 30 July, perhaps a little longer.

THE COURIER. A weekly newspaper edited by David Doud; published Edinburgh.

1840—Oct. THE VINDICATOR OR CATHOLIC PENNY MAGAZINE. Published at Liverpool on the second Saturday of every month; short-lived.

1840—May 16. THE TABLET. Large 4to; 6d.;

weekly; published by George Dismore, 6 Catherine Street, Strand. The *Orthodox Journal* was intended only for circulation among Catholics and did not aim at being a high-class periodical. Leading Catholics wanted a medium for an authoritative exposition of their views and they approached Mr. Frederick Lucas, a convert from Quakerism, to persuade him to undertake such a newspaper. The result was *The Tablet*. Lucas was the Editor, Messrs. Keasley, a Catholic firm in the leather trade, financed the paper, and the printers, Messrs. Cox, were Protestants. It started 16 May, 1840. Unfortunately Messrs. Keasley failed in the leather business, February 1841, were declared bankrupt, and their failure left Lucas without financial backing to carry on the paper. Ward, in his "A Sequel to Catholic Emancipation", says that the printer, Cox, bought the paper for £100 and, to retain Lucas as editor, gave him a financial interest in the paper; but it appears more likely that Cox invested £100 in the concern, for Ward, in another place, says that on the failure of the Keasleys, Catholic friends rallied round Lucas. Be that as it may, there was now continual friction between Lucas and the Protestant printers, which culminated in a claim to partnership or copyright by the latter and an open rupture in February 1842. For an account of the quarrel see Ward (*Sequel to Cath. Em.*, II, 40-42). Both started to publish *The Tablet*, Lucas to avoid a chancery suit calling his THE TRUE TABLET. Cox's *Tablet* was under the editorship of Mr. James Quin. Both claimed to be a continuation of the original paper, and from 26 February, 1842, to the end of the year the two *Tablets* appeared simultaneously. But a circulation barely enough for one newspaper was not likely to be enough for two, and the majority of the subscribers remained with Lucas. Cox soon found that he was losing money and he brought his *Tablet* to an end with the issue 23 July, 1842, establishing in its place THE CATHOLIC, and that it should not rival Lucas's *True Tablet*, the newspaper was to be entirely unpolitical. It lived only four months, ending 19 November, 1842.

With its rival out of the way, *The True Tablet* started, 1843, under the original title and enlarged to the usual

folio size—Vol. IV, 7 January, 1843, *The Tablet*, a Catholic and General Journal of News, Literature, Criticism, Politics and Religion—and it has remained *The Tablet* ever since. Published in London until January 1850, when Lucas moved it to Dublin at the request of Irish friends, and the editor became more Irish than the Irish themselves—until he quarrelled with the Irish episcopate in 1853. Lucas died 22 October, 1855. Throughout his editorship from 1840 Lucas was considered by many as a dangerous, reckless firebrand. He never showed “any anxiety to avoid treading upon the toes of Protestant statesmen, he wanted to stamp on them at once if that seemed the quickest way of drawing attention to any Catholic grievance”.\* At the death of Lucas the *Tablet* was brought back to London and Mr. John Wallis, a barrister, became the editor. There was trouble over his political views and he was not a *persona grata* to Cardinal Manning. In 1868 the *Tablet* was in sore straits and Wallis tired of the work. At the end of 1868 Dr. Herbert Vaughan bought the *Tablet* for a small sum of money and became editor (November 1868). It appeared then as *The Tablet: A Weekly Newspaper and Review, New Series*. The *Tablet* is now in its 165th volume, and nearly five thousand numbers have been issued.

1840. THE CATHOLIC LUMINARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL REPERTORY. Published in Dublin twice a week; price 4d. 20 June, 1840, to 3 July, 1841.

1841. REED'S CATHOLIC RECORDER. But ceased in the following year, 1842.

1842—30 July. THE CATHOLIC: *An Ecclesiastical and Literary Journal for the Catholics of the British Empire*. Weekly. This is the paper mentioned above which Cox started when he discontinued his *Tablet*. It commenced 30 July and ended 19 November—17 numbers only.

F. C. H. says the editor was D. D. Keane, and that it was proposed to continue *The Catholic* as a monthly on 30 December, but the project did not materialize.

\* Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 181-182.

1842. LUCAS'S PENNY LIBRARY. A weekly journal; 8 pp.; 4to; double col.; yellow cover with illustrated back; published at the *True Tablet* office, 6 Catherine Street, Strand; printed by Palmer & Clayton. Sole editor and proprietor, F. Lucas. 1 October to 26 November, 1842. At this time the craze for penny magazines was at its height and Lucas thought to help the difficulties of the *True Tablet* by this publication, but it had to be dropped very soon.

1843. THE CATHOLIC KEEPSAKE. Annual; 12mo; pp. 260; printed by S. Taylor, 6 Chandos Street, Covent Garden. Published for the benefit of the Asylum of the Good Shepherd, Hammersmith, by Keats, Sloane Street. Editor, Rev. J. Robson (then of Cadogan Terrace). Was there a second number?

About 1844 et seq. BOOKER'S POCKET-BOOK DIRECTORY. An annual.

1844—15 June. THE CATHOLIC WEEKLY INSTRUCTOR, OR MISCELLANY OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE. 4to; 12 pp.; 1d.; edited by Rev. Thomas Sing of St. Mary's, Derby, who had the patronage of Dr. Wiseman and other able contributors. Printed and published by Richardson & Son, Derby. An ably conducted periodical, the circulation of which is said at one time to have reached 20,000 copies, but in 1846 it became a monthly and changed to:

1846—Aug. THE CATHOLIC INSTRUCTOR. Monthly; price 4d. The circulation decreased and the paper failed to pay its way. The editor did not favour raising the price to 6d., and it ended in December 1847. The whole series makes four small 4to volumes.

1845. DOLMAN'S MAGAZINE AND MONTHLY MISCELLANY OF CRITICISM. 8vo; single col.; monthly; price 2s.; printed and published by Charles Dolman, 61 New Bond Street. Edited by Miles Gerald Keon.

F. C. H. considers *Dolman's Magazine* as a continuation of *The Catholic Magazine* published by him when the *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* changed its name and publisher in April 1838 (see above). The Third Series



it will be remembered struggled on until June 1844, and F. C. H. considers it started again as *Dolman's Magazine* in January 1845. From December 1846 the Rev. E. Price became editor in place of Mr. Keon and remained in that position until August 1849, when he resigned; and with his resignation Charles Dolman gave up periodical publications. That was really the end of *Dolman's Magazine*. However, the *Weekly Register*, published by T. Booker, claimed to be the successor to both *Dolman's Magazine* and *The Weekly and Monthly Orthodox* published by Mary Andrews, and this combination under the title of the *Catholic Register and Magazine* claimed to be the descendant of Dolman's, and was started as Vol. IX, No. 61.

This was Thomas Booker Junr., formerly associated with Dolman and Mary Booker in the old-established firm of Thomas Booker, his grandfather. On the death of his aunt he opened a printing business at 37 Ranelagh Street, Liverpool, but in 1848 returned to London and established himself at 9 Rupert Street, Leicester Square.

1845—3 May. THE GOOD SHEPHERD FOR THE CATHOLIC EASTERN DISTRICT. An attempt at a penny local magazine by Mr. W. E. Stutter, but the project failed, and only this one number was published.

1846—18 April. THE BEACON: *A Weekly Journal of Catholicity, Politics and Literature*. Edited by Mr. Doud—only two or three numbers.

1846—14 Nov. THE NEW CATHOLIC MAGAZINE. Weekly; large 8vo; double col.; 12 pp.; price 1<sup>7</sup>/<sub>d</sub>. Printed and published for the proprietors by A. J. Boake, 2 Crane Court, Fleet Street. Twelve numbers only, the last No. 12, 12 June, 1847.

About 1846. THE CATHOLIC WEEKLY MISCELLANY. About twenty numbers issued.

1847—Jan. DUFFY'S IRISH CATHOLIC MAGAZINE. A monthly. Ceased December 1848.

1848—1 Jan. THE RAMBLER: *A Journal of Home and Foreign Literature, Politics, Science and Art*. 4to; double col.; weekly. Published by John Burns, Portman Square. Founded by John Moore Capes soon after his conversion, and in its early days



mostly in the hands of converts. Burns the publisher was a convert in 1847; Richard Simpson, who succeeded Capes as editor, was a convert in 1845. Vol. I, 1 January to 29 April, 1848; Vol. II, 6 May to 19 August, 1848. With Vol. III, September 1848, it became "A Monthly Journal and Review", slightly reduced in size, and so continued, with a later alteration in the title of "Monthly" to "Catholic", to the end of Vol. IV, December 1849. With Vol. V the format was changed to 8vo, single columns. A New Series commenced January 1854 and lasted to the end of Vol. IX, February 1859, when another New Series commenced, published every two months, price 3s., under the simple title of *The Rambler*, Vol. I, May, July, September 1859. With the November number the publication was suspended (Gillow)—with the March number, 1861 (F. C. H.). The life of this journal was an unhappy one. The Jansenist views of Simpson, the editor, constantly brought it into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities in England and at Rome. Simpson had to retire, and for a short time Newman was editor. He retired in 1859, and Sir John (later Lord) Acton then became editor, but his ultra-broad views led to further trouble, and the *Rambler* had to be discontinued. In July 1862 it was replaced by THE HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW, in all respects a reproduction of *The Rambler* except in title. Ultimately the Review was brought to an end through the Brief of Pope Pius IX to the Archbishop of Munich, 21 December, 1863, when Sir John Acton, its proprietor, stopped its publication.

1848-49. THE CATHOLIC ADVOCATE: THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL. Started August 1848.

1849-6 Jan. THE WEEKLY AND MONTHLY ORTHODOX: *A Catholic Journal of Correspondence and Literature*. 8vo; double col.; illus.; a weekly calendar. Published by Mary Andrews, Duke Street, Little Britain, Smithfield. Price 3d. Editor, Rev. Richard Boyle.

Three years after Andrews' *Orthodox Journal* had been discontinued it was revived by Mr. Boyle under the above title.

Vol. I, commenced 6 January, 1849; Vol. II, commenced 7 July but finished 28 July, when it was united with:

1849—4 Aug. **THE WEEKLY REGISTER: A Catholic Journal of Literature, Correspondence and Intelligence.** 8vo; London; price 3d.; double col.; pp. 16; occasionally illus.; printed and published by Thomas Booker, 9 Rupert Street, Leicester Square. Editor, Rev. Edward Price.

First number was 4 August, 1849, and the journal came to an end with No. 26, 26 January, 1850, owing to the withdrawal of Mr. Dolman's connexion and the resignation of the editor, Rev. Edward Price. It claimed a connexion with *Dolman's Magazine*, and was succeeded by:

1850—March. **THE CATHOLIC REGISTER AND MAGAZINE.** Monthly; 8vo; single col.; London: T. Booker. The proprietor under this new title claimed descent from *Dolman's Magazine*, so the first issue started as Vol. XI, No. 61, March 1850, these numbers referring to the establishment of *Dolman's Magazine* in March 1845.

It came to grief in the year of its birth but was revived again 19 May, 1855, united with *The Catholic Standard*, under the title *The Weekly Register and Catholic Standard*.

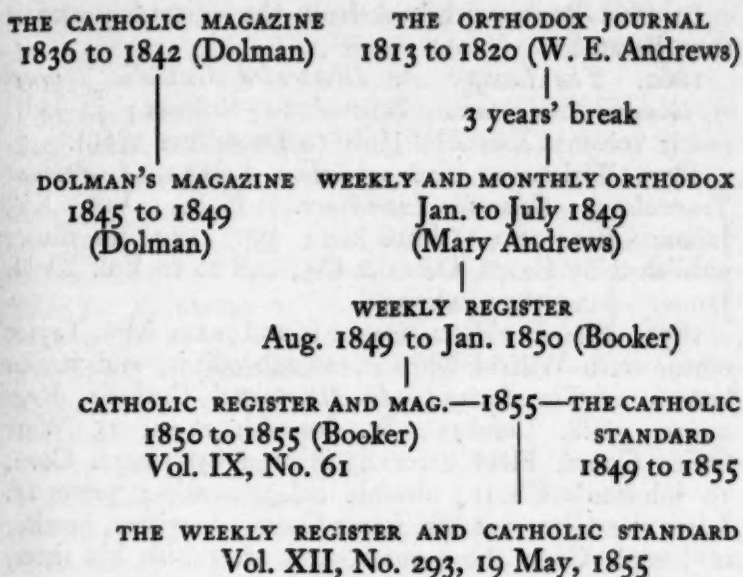
1849—14 Oct. **THE CATHOLIC STANDARD.** A weekly paper. Published by Anthony Williams, 3 Bridges Street, Covent Garden. This was purchased by Wilberforce in 1854, at a time when Lucas had transferred the *Tablet* from London to Dublin. In 1855 it was amalgamated with the revived *Catholic Register and Magazine* and became:

1855—19 May. **THE WEEKLY REGISTER AND CATHOLIC STANDARD.** Pp. 16; price 6d.; first issue, Vol. XII, No. 293 (as descending from *Dolman's Magazine*). Wilberforce was editor until 1863. Wilberforce disclaimed all rivalry with *The Tablet*, but it was considered necessary to have some paper as a check on the ultra-Irish tendency of the only other organ the Catholics of Great Britain then possessed.\*

\* Later it came out at 3d. Cardinal Manning bought the paper in 1881 and handed it over to Mr. Wilfrid Meynell, under whose editorship it had a distinct literary character. Publication continued until 1890.

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The relations of the above magazines may be shown :



1850—16 March. *THE LAMP: A Catholic Journal of Literature, the Fine Arts, etc., devoted to the Religious, Moral, Physical, and Domestic Improvement of the Industrious Classes.* A well-known and most useful periodical established and edited by Thomas Earnshaw Bradley at York. 4to; double col.; occasionally illus.; price 1d.; printed Richardson, Derby. Vol. I, 16 March to 14 December, 1850, pp. 586. Vol. IV, published at Leeds, printed by Richardson. Bradley got into financial difficulties and Vol. V, 1 January to 9 July, 1853, was published and printed at Leeds by Sands and Charnock: also Vol. VI, 16 July to 31 December, 1853. Vol. VII, January–December 1854, and Vol. VIII, January–December, 1855, with the *Lamp Chronicle*, published London, Charles Dolman.

1856. *A New Series* was started in 1856. Vol. I, January–June, *The Lamp: A Weekly Illustrated Journal.* Editors, James Burke, A.B., Barrister, and T. E. Bradley. With Vol. II Burke became sole editor.

Vol. V, January–June 1859, was published by Dolman

for the Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Co., and so on to Vol. IX.

In 1862 Burke withdrew from the editorship and it then became :

1862. *The Lamp: An Illustrated Catholic Journal of General Literature*. Printed by Robson; in half-yearly volumes I to XIV (July to December 1869).

1870. Title was changed—*The Lamp: A Popular Journal of General Literature*. N.S. Vol. XV, January–June 1870; imp. 8vo; pp. 412; no illus.; published by Burns, Oates & Co., and so to Vol. XVII, January–June 1871, when :

1871. Mrs. Lockhart bought it and made Mrs. Taylor editor with Wilfrid Meynell as sub-editor, and it was known as *The Lamp: An Illustrated Catholic Magazine*. N.S. London: St. Joseph's Press, 15 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street; printed by Joseph Coen, 10 Johnson's Court; double col.; weekly; price 1d. Later the editor was Mr. James Coen, a barrister, brother of Joseph Coen the printer, and after him his sister, Miss Nora Coen, was editor until 1890, when the magazine was sold to Mr. Charles Gilbert Ellis, youngest son of Albert Ellis, Esq., The Brand, Leicestershire.

1890. Ellis became editor of *The Lamp: Established Half a Century: Greatly Improved: With Numerous Illustrations*—(an error of ten years). Vol. XXXIX, July–December 1890.

1892. Ellis died suddenly, 12 September, 1892, æt. 26, and the magazine passed into the hands of Mr. George Cooke.

1850. THE NORTHERN TIMES. Begun by T. E. Bradley about the same time as *The Lamp*; published Glasgow; was unsuccessful and soon abandoned.

1850. THE CATHOLIC ANNUAL REGISTER. London: Dolman, 61 New Bond Street. Small 8vo; 2s. Only first half of the year.

1851–52. THE CATHOLIC VINDICATOR (AND IRISH MAGAZINE). 4to; double col.; 16 pp.; published Ryan & Co., 16 Brydges Street, Strand, London; was projected and contributed to by Patrick Burke Ryan, Esq. Later on published by George Vickers, 334 Strand.

January 1852 John Eugene O'Cavanagh became proprietor and editor. He added to the title "and Irish Magazine". It is said to have had at one time a circulation of nearly 12,000 copies. Publication ceased 21 August, 1852.

1852—1 Feb. **THE CATHOLIC GUARDIAN OR THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY LIBRARY.** 8vo; double col.; forty-four *1d.* numbers. One volume, 1853. Published by James Duffy, 7 Wellington Quay, Dublin.

1853—54—55. **THE METROPOLITAN AND PROVINCIAL CATHOLIC ALMANAC AND DIRECTORY.** Published by T. Booker, London.

1856 or 1857. **THE LIVERPOOL CATHOLIC INSTITUTE MAGAZINE.** Published first in Liverpool; later by Burns & Lambert, London. Ceased publication in 1858.

1857—2 March. **THE CATHOLIC CHILD'S MAGAZINE.** 16mo; price *1d.* Published by W. Shaen, 1 Liverpool Street, Moorfields, London, but later transferred to Richardson & Son. Doubtful how long it survived.

1859—March. **THE HARP OR IRISH CATHOLIC MAGAZINE.** Published by J. McCann, Cork; discontinued October 1859, but in 1863 revived as **THE IRISH HARP**, March 1863; ceased February 1864.

1856—61. **THE ATLANTIS.** Dublin: 4 Vols. The articles, mostly by members of the Catholic University, were deep, philosophical, and scientific.

1860—Dec. **THE UNIVERSAL NEWS.** [F. C. H.] This has nothing to do with the *Universe* below, as F. C. H. mentions both. Established in London by a company of shareholders, nearly all of whom were Catholics. Its life was stormy. The first editor, A. W. Harnett, Esq., B.L., had J. F. O'Donnell as sub-editor, but some months later Harnett retired and J. E. O'Cavanagh became editor; he quarrelled with O'Donnell, retired, and O'Donnell became editor. In May 1866 O'Cavanagh was again editor; more quarrels and O'Donnell for the second time took his place. Still existing in 1866, of its further history I have no information.

1860—8 Dec. **THE UNIVERSE.** Cardinal Wiseman



wanted, now the newspaper tax was removed, a penny Catholic newspaper in London to do what M. Louis Veuillot was doing in Paris by *L'Univers* (hence the English title), to answer the calumnies poured forth by the Secular Press against Catholics and the Holy See. The Cardinal suggested that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul should undertake the matter. The Society, as such, could not do so, but a number of the Brothers, including George J. Wigley, the London correspondent of the Paris *L'Univers*, formed themselves into a committee and started the paper. Mr. Denis Lane undertook the printing, Mr. Archibald Dunn the editorship, and the first number appeared on 8 December, 1860. The editor and staff gave their services gratuitously, but in spite of this the paper did not pay its way. At the start politics were eschewed, and when, in an effort to increase the circulation, political articles were introduced, the greater part of the staff resigned. Mr. Lane then became the proprietor and conducted it as a Catholic paper of very decided views for many years until his death, when it came into the hands of the present proprietor, who has made it a thoroughly up-to-date Catholic weekly with a very large circulation.

1860. DUFFY'S HIBERNIAN JOURNAL. Monthly; Dublin. July 1860 to December 1861. It started, January 1862, a "Second Series" which lasted to June 1864.

1864—July. THE MONTH. A magazine of superior character started by the efforts of Miss Fanny Taylor, foundress of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. She had become a Catholic in 1855 while serving as a nurse under Florence Nightingale in the Crimea.\*

Fr. Henry James Coleridge, one of the founders of the *Guardian*, a convert who joined the Society of Jesus, became the first Jesuit editor in 1865.

1866—29 Dec. THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE. "To offer to all Catholics in the United Kingdom a

\* At first it was an illustrated magazine mostly given up to fiction. With her entrance into religion the magazine passed to the Jesuits, under whose able direction it became, and continues to be, a high-class review.

common ground of union for the maintenance of Catholic principles on all questions of the day, proper to be discussed in a newspaper."\*

1865—7 Jan. **THE WORKMAN. THE LITERARY WORKMAN, OR LIFE AND LEISURE.** A weekly, conducted by Mrs. Parsons. It was started as *The Workman* but six months later changed its name to the second title.

1867. **CATHOLIC OPINION: A Review of the Catholic Press at Home and Abroad.** F<sup>c</sup>ap fol.; double col.; 16 pp. Saturday, weekly; price 1d. Printed and published by Richard Archer, 15 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street. Before the completion of the first quarter Mrs. Lockhart purchased a share in the undertaking and commenced a New Series, Vol. I, Saturday, 23 March, 1867. Archer died three days later, and Mrs. Lockhart became sole proprietor, with her son, Fr. Wm. Lockhart, as editor, and so it continued to No. 349, Vol. XIV, Saturday, 22 November, 1873, when both severed their connexion with the paper. It was bought by Dr. Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, to be brought out on Wednesdays in the same form as the *Tablet* and as a supplement to it; especially as an educational record.

So No. 350, Vol. XV, Wednesday, 26 November, 1873, price 1d., appeared from the *Tablet* office, but had an independent staff and a special editor.

It was continued to Vol. XIX, 1 March, 1876, when it was transferred to Rev. James Nugent, of Liverpool, to be incorporated with *The Catholic Times*.

**THE NORTHERN PRESS.** Mr. Harper, brother of Fr. Harper, S.J., was the proprietor and editor. Published Liverpool. Being unsuccessful, it was taken up by Mgr. Nugent, who at Canon Toole's suggestion changed the name to *The Catholic Times*.

1876—8 March. **THE CATHOLIC TIMES AND CATHOLIC OPINION.** The Organ of the Catholic

\* Owned and edited by E. S. Purcell (better known as the biographer of Cardinal Manning). The paper was anything but "a common ground of union" for its editorial views on Papal Infallibility caused great controversy. It never had much circulation and eventually Cardinal Vaughan bought the paper and ended its existence.



Body. Formed by the amalgamation of the last two papers and still flourishing.

NORTHERN PRESS

CATHOLIC OPINION—March 1876—CATHOLIC TIMES  
1867-76 -1876

CATHOLIC TIMES AND CATHOLIC OPINION  
8 March, 1876, to present day.

JOHN R. FLETCHER.

## THE DUBLIN REVIEW AND THE CATHOLIC PRESS

THE centenary of the DUBLIN REVIEW coincides with the first international exhibition of the Catholic Press at the Vatican City in the early summer of 1936; and that exhibition has been organized to celebrate another anniversary, the completion of seventy-five years of continuous publication by the Vatican newspaper, the *Osservatore Romano*. Among the thousands of Catholic periodicals which will be exhibited there from all parts of the world, there will be few which can rival the age of the *Osservatore* itself, and there will be very few indeed which can show continuous publication for a hundred years. That the Catholic Church in England should be able to provide at least one periodical which has reached its centenary is certainly remarkable. Still more surprising is it that the principal survivor should be a quarterly review which has never aimed at reaching more than a limited public, and has never enjoyed the protection of any endowment or of a rich patron. The present issue of the REVIEW, containing a number of articles which describe the various stages of its long existence, provides an historical record which cannot fail to interest students of modern journalism. It must suggest also a number of curious considerations to those who are concerned with the editorship or management of the Catholic Press.

To have survived for a hundred years is an achievement in itself; yet the DUBLIN REVIEW belongs to a category of publications which have long been regarded as obsolete. The changed conditions of modern life have destroyed that cultured leisure which formerly welcomed serious periodicals published without haste and at decent intervals. Even the monthly reviews which played so important a part in the development of an educated Press in Victorian days have gradually disappeared. Only a few survive, with small circulations, provided mostly by clubs and other institutions which renew their subscriptions faithfully and ensure a minimum of revenue which just

enables their publishers to continue. The mortality among weekly reviews of the old dignified type has been still more rapid. The *Academy*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Outlook*—even the *Nation* and the post-war *Week-End Review*—have all vanished in quite recent times; while the *Saturday Review*, after repeated changes of ownership, has become a political pamphlet which would surely have horrified that brilliant group of anonymous contributors who made it a power in English journalism for many years. And while so many weekly and monthly reviews have vanished with the generations which encouraged and supported them, any quarterly review survives as an anachronism.

No one could have expected less than its founders that it would not only live for a hundred years, but would outlast the *Edinburgh Review*, which it was chiefly intended to combat. The *Edinburgh*, as they knew it, was the organ of the most gifted writers of their time, backed by the vast influence and resources of the Whig nobility. Even the title of the DUBLIN REVIEW was chosen as a deliberate challenge to the *Edinburgh*; symbolizing the faith and the hopes of a newly emancipated generation of Catholics. Its title was indeed a handicap, for it was intended primarily for English readers, among whom Daniel O'Connell was by no means *persona grata* even after his triumph in carrying the Catholic Emancipation Act some seven years before the REVIEW first appeared. Its later development, as the articles in this centenary issue show clearly, had practically no connexion whatever with Ireland. Almost from the beginning divided counsels, as well as lack of financial resources, made its survival extremely precarious. O'Connell repudiated all connexion with it at an early stage, because he disagreed with the politics of its editors. His departure meant the loss of his immense influence among the Irish clergy, and also the withdrawal of his characteristic generosity in financing the earlier issues. Dr. Wiseman had not yet returned to England, and could scarcely be expected to edit a London quarterly with success from the English College in Rome.

But Wiseman had a marvellous capacity for inspiring

enthusiasm, and a clear conception that the DUBLIN REVIEW should be a platform where serious discussions could be conducted concerning the Tractarian movement. Before long his famous article on the resemblance between the Tractarians and the Donatists reached Oxford, and became a decisive factor in the conversion of John Henry Newman. Under Wiseman's guidance the DUBLIN became the recognized organ of those who sought to further the conversion of England through influencing the High Church party. And when Newman surrendered and so many of his disciples followed him, it seemed only natural that it should be their organ particularly. Yet by a strange paradox the REVIEW passed under the influence of those who regarded Newman with suspicion, and he only once contributed to its pages. The long conflict of views between Newman and Manning led to his being debarred from contact with it; and he had died long before his biographer, Wilfrid Ward, became editor of the DUBLIN. Having quarrelled with O'Connell, the author of Catholic Emancipation, and having rejected Newman, the most distinguished figure among the converts to the Church, how indeed did the REVIEW survive through so many decades?

While Wiseman lived, the Catholic Press in England was still in its first beginnings, and his official protection ensured the continuance of the DUBLIN. But Wiseman died in 1865; and when Manning treated it as his chief organ for defending the most extreme claims of the Temporal Power and of Papal Infallibility, and for trouncing those who disagreed with him, it certainly could not claim even to represent normal Catholic opinion in England. Cardinal Vaughan established its official position more securely, and made it more generally representative, by appointing Bishop Hedley to edit it and becoming its proprietor when he already owned the weekly *Tablet*. In his will he bequeathed the DUBLIN REVIEW to his successors in the See of Westminster. After his death it thus became the property of Cardinal Bourne, and of Archbishop Hinsley, for whom it has been edited and produced by the present publishers.

Looking back through the hundreds of old numbers, one is struck by the continual change in the REVIEW's scope with the passing years. It is curious to find that the earlier issues usually contained a brief chronicle, recording the most notable events of the Catholic revival from month to month, and giving the names of important recent converts. There were so few Catholic periodicals at the time that a quarterly review had to fulfil some of the functions of a newspaper, as well as conducting the controversies which are nowadays carried on in the weekly or even the daily Press. The sort of public whom it reached has varied comparatively little at any time in its history; its financial fortunes depending largely upon whether people bought copies for themselves or borrowed them from libraries and other places where the regular subscriptions have been kept up for years. But the scope of the REVIEW has varied widely, partly because of the individual preferences of its editors or the policy of its proprietors, and partly as a result of changing conditions.

The gradual establishment of excellent Catholic monthly reviews and the great improvement in the Catholic weekly Press—which all publish nowadays a great deal of excellent writing—has provided the means of conducting controversy at much shorter intervals. The *Month*, edited by the Jesuits in London since 1865, has published an immense number of scholarly contributions for which the DUBLIN REVIEW would formerly have been the only outlet. *Blackfriars*, founded by the Dominicans at Oxford in 1920, has provided a similar outlet for much excellent and original writing, in which the growing influence of St. Thomas Aquinas has very properly been conspicuous. And the monthly *Clergy Review*, founded six years ago in London as a professional review for the clergy, has given a new field for the discussion of theological and ecclesiastical questions. A wide variety of other reviews has come into being to provide for discussion of more specialized subjects—such as the *Christian Democrat*, the organ of the Catholic Social Guild, or the quarterly *Catholic Medical Guardian*, which has been an invaluable link between Catholic



doctors all over the country, or the quarterly *Sower* in Birmingham, which has conducted a vigorous and radical propaganda for new methods of teaching in the schools.

If an increased number of periodicals indicates vitality in the Catholic revival, the English section of the international exhibition of the Catholic Press is certainly encouraging. More than 320 different periodicals have been sent to Rome for exhibit, and of these about half are publications which have only been founded since the end of the war. Almost half of the total exhibits, it is true, are parish magazines; and of these at least one-third have been in existence for less than ten years. About a hundred of the others are school or college magazines, and of these also a large proportion are of quite recent foundation. But among them are several of venerable age. The *Oscotian*, founded in 1828, is believed to be the oldest surviving Catholic periodical in England. The *Edmundian*, published at St. Edmund's College, Ware, was founded in 1841. The *Downside Review*, founded in 1879, has become a review of real distinction, containing much admirable scholarship and criticism contributed by the English Benedictines; and the Benedictines of Prinknash and of Buckfast have also produced those admirable reviews *Pax* and the *Buckfast Abbey Chronicle*.

While these various reviews have increased immensely the output of Catholic writing, whether serious or ephemeral, the development of the Catholic weekly Press has quite recently entered upon an extremely interesting phase. The *Tablet*, founded by Frederick Lucas in 1840, passed through extraordinary vicissitudes before it was bought, after Lucas died, by Cardinal Vaughan when he was Bishop of Salford. A Quaker convert to the Catholic Church, Lucas became ardently Irish in his sympathies, and he eventually transferred the *Tablet* to Dublin. Later, Bishop Vaughan became its proprietor, changed its character completely, and made it his personal organ until his death. It had become the official organ of the Westminster archdiocese in his later years, and he bequeathed it jointly to his successors in the See of Westminster and to St. Joseph's College at

Mill Hill. As an official organ for so many years it has acquired a peculiar status among the dwindling group of weekly reviews in England; but it has just entered upon a new era since the present Archbishop of Westminster relinquished its ownership, and it has been taken over by a group of Catholic laymen. The *Catholic Times* also has quite recently changed hands, having been for some ten years controlled by the Catholic Missionary Society under the late Dr. Herbert Vaughan. Its origins go back to 1859, when the *Lancashire Free Press and Catholic News* was founded in Liverpool, and the paper changed its title several times before it was acquired and developed by Mgr. Nugent, who renamed it the *Catholic Times*. It had attained a great circulation in pre-war years, largely in the North, and then fell upon difficult years before it was acquired in 1926 by Dr. Vaughan. Modernized and immensely improved, it has since recovered a great deal of the ground which it had lost. Alone among the Catholic weekly newspapers it has a priest as its editor.

Still more remarkable has been the recovery of the *Universe*, which was founded in 1860 under the inspiration of Cardinal Wiseman, who wished to see a penny weekly newspaper in England which would exercise the same influence as the *Univers* under Louis Veuillot in France. Launched by a group of unknown men, and produced almost single-handed at first by the printer Denis Lane, it gradually acquired a very wide sale, chiefly among the Catholic working classes. But it was afterwards eclipsed by the *Catholic Times*, and it was bankrupt and virtually moribund when its present proprietor undertook to revive it less than twenty years ago. Its subsequent expansion has been extraordinary, and with a sale of over 100,000 copies a week it probably surpasses that of all the Anglican weekly journals combined. The result of such circulations for the *Universe* and the *Catholic Times* together at the present time is that the whole Catholic public can be kept informed on any matter which requires joint Catholic action, to an extent which was never possible hitherto. Moreover, both newspapers appear to be increasing their regular



sale from year to year, and as each concentrates on different lines with the object of appealing to different types of reader, the field for further expansion would appear to be very wide.

A quite different experiment—and certainly the boldest adventure of its kind in recent Catholic journalism—has been tried with the *Catholic Herald*, which passed into new hands after the death of its founder, Mr. Charles Diamond, in 1934. He had, in 1884, founded it deliberately as a Radical organ for the Catholic working class, under the inspiration of Cardinal Manning's work for social reform. It was openly and defiantly political, and Mr. Diamond's pugnacious journalism won him a large following. He was also a shrewd business organizer and he developed a large number of local editions of his newspaper, for sale in all the industrial centres which have considerable Catholic populations. But his vituperative methods brought his paper into discredit, and his following had declined rapidly in his later years. After his death the *Catholic Herald* and its various subsidiaries were acquired by a group of laymen who immediately altered its whole character and aimed at a different public. Definitely repudiating the policy of making it a religious newspaper of the usual kind, they have aimed at producing a newspaper which deals with general events and questions from a Catholic point of view. In so doing they have deliberately risked the loss of that part of their former public which regards a Catholic weekly simply as a source of complete information concerning local and national religious news; and they have sought new readers who desire a more general newspaper written by Catholics for a general public.

That experiment is obviously a first brave attempt to achieve what has often been discussed and desired—a general newspaper under Catholic control and direction. It is an immense advance from the stage at which Catholic monthly or weekly periodicals were produced with very limited ambitions, simply to provide Catholics with news and comment concerning religious matters. If the experiment succeeds, it will certainly have prepared the way for the next stage, which even now might

almost be feasible, of producing a Sunday newspaper under Catholic direction. But to convert a Catholic weekly into a Sunday newspaper must involve great technical difficulties and enormous expense. The rapid growth of Catholic weekly circulation is largely the result of sales at the church doors all over the country; and such sales would be impossible if the papers are not dispatched to their destination in time to arrive on Saturday. Without such sales the present circulations would probably be reduced by more than one-half, and there is no apparent means of organizing distribution to reach the churches on Sundays. Yet a Sunday newspaper, if it is to compete with those which already exist, would need to be produced and printed in London on Saturday, and "kept open" for late news up to late in the evening.

Moreover the cost of producing an adequate Sunday newspaper would be so large that it must have a steady sale of probably 500,000 at least, in order to attract enough advertisements to cover its production costs. The Sunday newspapers which are most widely denounced as those which a Catholic newspaper should supersede—such as the *News of the World* or the *People* or the illustrated papers—each have circulations of about 3,000,000, and they command enormous financial resources to fight any new competition that threatens their present sales. If an educated type of Sunday newspaper is contemplated, there are only two in existence, both being owned by millionaires and in keen competition with each other; while the proportion of Catholics who could be expected to buy such a newspaper would be wholly unequal to providing the necessary sale. The only solution therefore would seem to be either to persuade some Catholic millionaire (if such can be found) to buy an existing Sunday newspaper and continue the hazardous responsibility of controlling it in face of fierce competition, or to finance an entirely new venture with lavish expenditure of capital, and trust to finding a new public who will prefer the new publication to its existing rivals. Whether the Catholic body is able to provide enough highly trained professional editors, journalists, and managerial

staff to make such a venture a success may well be doubted, and it is still more unlikely that every available Catholic who happens to possess the necessary experience and ability would be willing to sacrifice his present position and risk the future of his family by embarking upon such an adventure in the unknown.

To produce a daily newspaper under Catholic direction would, of course, be vastly more expensive and hazardous even than to undertake a Sunday newspaper. The total Catholic population of England, Scotland, and Wales is some three millions, of whom roughly half live in the metropolitan province of Liverpool, roughly half a million in Scotland, and about three-quarters of a million in the province of Westminster. It would be fantastic to assume that they would all desire the same type of newspaper, or that any one newspaper under Catholic control could possibly satisfy the whole Catholic body. The total potential public of Catholic men and women who buy a daily newspaper of any kind must be considerably below one million—even supposing that they could all be persuaded to buy the same paper, whether they live in Brighton or in Wigan, in Mayfair or Clydeside. Yet no popular daily newspaper can hope to hold its own against the present strenuous competition unless it sells considerably more than a million copies a day; whereas the *Daily Express*, *Daily Herald*, *Daily Mail*, and *Daily Mirror* all claim daily circulations of about double that figure. Huge capital has to be sunk in these highly speculative enterprises, and a newspaper may involve enormous annual deficits—amounting quickly to a million pounds or more—if bad luck or inefficient management produces a decline in sales.

Yet it is a sign of growing confidence and determination that the suggestion of establishing either a Catholic Sunday newspaper or a daily paper has been so frequently propounded and discussed. Its advocates usually know nothing of the technical and financial requirements in conducting a modern newspaper; and it is worth while reflecting whether, even if such a project could be subsidized at heavy expense, the result would compensate to any appreciable extent. Supposing even that it

could be attempted, would there be any sufficient reason for risking vast losses on acquiring the control of one of the existing daily newspapers, when it cannot hope to cover more than a small proportion of the whole newspaper public ?

A much more practical proposal has been put forward at different times for either founding a news agency or buying one of the existing organizations if it ever comes up for sale. The expense would be incomparably smaller, and a competent news agency which supplied real news and reliable information to the whole Press on the ordinary terms would quickly establish its reputation and justify its existence by genuine service. Two alternative suggestions have been considered at various times. One is to acquire an existing news agency as a going concern, and, by bringing it under Catholic direction, to ensure that it will not give distorted or false news regarding questions or events which concern the Church. The other is to found a Catholic news agency as such and to supply the ordinary Press with Catholic news or comment which is at present omitted through ignorance or neglect. A beginning might even be made in quite a small way, and if the material supplied to the newspapers was intelligently collected and edited, accurate and up to date, it would almost certainly succeed in a short time. There are many experienced Catholic journalists, with excellent reputations in their own profession but little known outside, who would gladly co-operate in such an enterprise as a form of service to Catholic Action. But the collection of Catholic news is, more than in most cases of a similar kind, a matter for international co-operation, and a Catholic news agency would from the start require working arrangements with similar agencies in other countries. The problem has been discussed for years among Catholic journalists in many countries, and repeated attempts have been made to establish a central organization in Paris or in some other capital. No practical question could be more urgent for discussion at the forthcoming Catholic Press congress of all nations in the Vatican City; and it may be that this year will see the beginning of an enterprise for

which years of development in other directions have prepared.

A hundred years have passed since Michael Quin, as a professional journalist, persuaded Wiseman and O'Connell to embark upon what seemed then the hopeless task of launching a Catholic quarterly which would challenge comparison with the famous reviews which were then at the height of their influence. Their bold venture has endured and outlived many of its greater contemporaries, and there is no apparent reason why it should not continue indefinitely to fulfil the purpose for which it was founded. It has played a great part in training and encouraging new writers and scholars in successive generations. Freed from the necessity of providing a platform for more technical discussion on many subjects, and no longer expected to supply quarterly news concerning the detailed progress of the Church in England, it still offers a place where important subjects can be reviewed at greater length than elsewhere, and where original writing of the less popular kind will find a welcome among a discerning public. Its readers include almost every student of Catholic matters, whether they belong to the Church or are still outside it. The DUBLIN REVIEW remains, as it was from the beginning, essentially a Catholic review, concerned principally with questions affecting the Catholic religion and the welfare of the Catholic Church. On similar lines and within their different sphere, other Catholic periodicals have since come into being and are now firmly established.

It would surely have gratified those who founded the DUBLIN REVIEW in the days when Dr. Wiseman described the English Catholics as "just emerging from the catacombs", that within a hundred years their brave example should have been so often and so courageously followed in more formidable adventures; and that a later generation, seeking new worlds to conquer, should be already considering the possibility of establishing Catholic newspapers and news agencies.

DENIS GWYNN.



## SOME RECENT BOOKS

LEO XIII, ITALY AND FRANCE. By Eduardo Soderini. Translated by Barbara Barclay Carter. (Burns Oates & Washbourne. 15s.)

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN ITALY. By Rev. H. L. Hughes, D.Litt. (Burns Oates & Washbourne. 6s.)

LEO XIII was born in the year in which the First Empire reached its zenith, and outlived Queen Victoria. To find a Pope who equalled him in years it is necessary to go back to Gregory IX, the contemporary of Henry III and St. Louis. In the length of his pontificate he was exceeded only by his immediate predecessor. Yet his reign coincided neither with the beginning nor the end of an age. He occupied the papal throne during the years when European civilization was enjoying its golden age, though those then living did not realize it. Count Soderini, the Pope's official biographer, who has been singularly fortunate in his translator, gives us, in this volume, the story of Leo XIII's relations with France and Italy, which constitute two far from unimportant chapters in the history of Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Both are in a sense stories of failure, though the failures of a man of genius. His Italian policy, except perhaps towards the end, was directed by the belief that he could recover a temporal domain of not inconsiderable dimensions. He desired to found a model Catholic government, which would rebut the charge of obscurantism brought against the Papacy, and was unconvinced by those who declared that the lessons of history prognosticated ill for his design. Soderini considers, however, that the determining argument in his mind in favour of his policy of keeping Italian Catholics from the polls was a fear lest the interests of the Holy See might become confused with legitimist aspirations in other parts of the peninsula. He believes also that the Pope had no real intention of leaving Rome either in 1881 or 1889, but gives the impression that he is unaware of the advanced stage which preparations for departure had reached at the Vatican



on the latter occasion. The failure of the Pope's French policy was due, not to his misreading of the situation, but to the unwillingness of French Catholics, convinced that the greatness of their country was bound up with the institution of monarchy, to listen to him. Yet the frequency of his admonitions to them led his enemies to declare that he was anxious for a republic which should be more clerical than the monarchy.

In *The Catholic Revival in Italy* Dr. Hughes gives us a charming study of the background against which the figure of Leo XIII stands. The author's sketches of nearly a score of the personalities of the period, though brief, are endowed with sufficient detail to make them vivid. The great figure of Alessandro Manzoni—whose most famous work, *I Promessi Sposi*, has been called by Pius XI the greatest glory of Italian literature, next to the *Divine Comedy*—is the herald of the revival. Though it owed its inspiration to a Protestant, Goethe on receiving a copy from the author told Eckermann that its success was due to the Catholic religion being more romantic than the Protestant. Manzoni was an incomprehensible figure to non-Italian Catholics, owing to his desire to see a United Italy under the House of Savoy, notwithstanding, as he told the somewhat scandalized Montalembert, that this would involve the abolition of the States of the Church. When, after 1870, he accepted the honorary citizenship of Rome, the *Tablet* lamented his "fall".

The literary aspect of the revival is only one of those touched on by Fr. Hughes. In the study of Toniolo, of whom von Hügel, not lavish in his praise of "clerical" writers, wrote that his was a name "genuinely respected by all competent workers", we are brought face to face with the difficulties under which a devout Catholic laboured in the Italian academic world of the late nineteenth century. "You go too often to mass and confession, Toniolo", said his friend, the Jewish politician Luzzatti. The story of the rise of "Catholic Action", dating from the foundation at Bologna in 1868 of the "Gioventù Cattolica Italiana", is related in studies of the layman Paganuzzi and the Cessist Semeria. A chapter

is devoted to "New Religious Orders" in which, in addition to a sketch of St. John Bosco, we have one of the attractive but less known figure of Padre Lauteri, founder of the Oblates of Mary. The last study is that of Padre Gemelli, taken as a representative of the "generation of 1915", to whom the book is dedicated. I must end with a note of criticism. Dr. Hughes, generally so balanced in his judgements, on the issue of the Temporal Powers seems to involve himself in a measure of self-contradiction. While admitting that the States of the Church were not necessary to the Holy See, he maintains that Pius IX had no alternative but to say that they were.

HUMPHREY JOHNSON, CONG. ORAT.

THE SECRET OF ST. JOHN BOSCO. By Henri Ghéon.  
Translated by F. J. Sheed. (Sheed & Ward. 6s.)

HENRI GHÉON's eminently readable little volume will add nothing fresh to the knowledge of St. John Bosco possessed by those familiar with the larger works of Auffray and Lemoyne. As a popular summary, though, of the Saint's life and work it is as good as anything yet placed within the reach of English readers.

St. John Bosco lived at one of the great turning-points of Italian history. When he was born at the hamlet of Becchi, near Turin, the diplomats of Europe had just finished carving up the Italian peninsula into half a dozen little kingdoms. The early years of his priestly life were passed during the exciting period of the Risorgimento. His marvellous creation, the Salesian Society, began to attract general attention after 1870. The Saint was thus a contemporary both of Cavour and of Crispi. The problems with which he had to deal were those created by the new Italy represented by these two very different men. So remarkable was the Saint's influence during his lifetime that it would scarcely be an exaggeration to class him amongst the Makers of Modern Italy. The object of Ghéon's study is to reveal the secret of this wonderful influence.

As an introduction to the Saint's inner life Ghéon's book serves its purpose admirably. The survey embraces every period in his life and touches on every aspect of

his manifold activities. An attractive picture is drawn of the peasant boy, Bosco of the Becchi, learning at his mother's knee to live always in God's presence. He was so fired with the Christian conception of life that he felt an irresistible urge to teach something about it to his little playmates—and in order to hold their attention learned to dance on the tight rope. A few years later, as a handsome, broad-shouldered lad, he founded, amongst his schoolmates at Chieri, a "Merrymakers' Society", the object of which was to help its members "always to keep smiling and to avoid offending God". The "Società di Allegria", founded by this sixteen-year-old peasant lad, was like a rough sketch of the great masterpiece, the Salesian Society, which the priest, Don Bosco, was to create a couple of decades later.

The year of revolutions, 1848, came when St. John Bosco had barely started his great work of looking after the waifs and strays of Turin. In the spring of the following year Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. Siccardi, D'Azeglio, and Cavour, the new king's ministers, were pursuing a policy which was bound to lead sooner or later to a clash between Piedmont and Pius IX. Second to none in unswerving devotion to the Holy See, the Saint foresaw clearly, nevertheless, that the old order in Italy was doomed to fall. He therefore laid plans for the future when, one after another, the little Italian kingdoms—including the Papal States—would be absorbed by Piedmont.

The marvellous development of his work beyond the boundaries of Italy came after 1870. Special interest is aroused by the account given of the missionary work done by Cagliero, Fagnano, and other early Salesians amongst the savage tribes of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego.

The translator has done his work well and the book deserves a wide circulation in the English-speaking world. One or two misprints might be corrected in a later edition; e.g., p. 118, Gonzago for Gonzaga. The expression "Society of Joy" (p. 69), is probably a correct rendering of the French text of Ghéon. It does not quite

convey, though, the meaning of the title "Società di Allegria" given by the Saint to the little club he started amongst his schoolmates at Chieri.

H. L. HUGHES.

EDMUND CAMPION. By Evelyn Waugh. (Longmans. 6s.)

ROBERT SOUTHWELL THE WRITER. By Pierre Janelle. (Sheed & Ward. 16s.)

MR. EVELYN WAUGH's study of Blessed Edmund Campion is noteworthy from every point of view. The author, who made his wide reputation by a number of secular novels, now confronts the literary (and library) public with a character out of English life before whom the creations of romantic fiction fade into insignificance. The subscriber who perseveres, under the guarantee of Mr. Waugh's reputation as a novel-writer, will find here an authentic Scarlet Pimpernel (but no rich fop) penetrating with his sworn companions into the country of a Reign of Terror to rescue souls but not bodies, under long-established certainty of private torture, an unjust trial, and a degrading death for treason. It is always a puzzle that English fiction has had to go abroad into France or Ruritania for its knight-errantry when so many national heroes lie hidden in the Recusant archives, but at least the chance reader has one of his opportunities now to discover the heroes and the history of his own country. Catholic readers, who may already know the penal times from other sources, will find that Mr. Waugh brings deftly to life many who were only names.

His *Edmund Campion* is an essay in historical biography, scholarly and restrained, written in a fine prose which gives rein to the novelist's imagination without tempting him into the tricks of fiction.

So the character of Campion develops from the days of his Oxford triumphs and doubts to the days of his immortal speeches to his judges (always with one missionary preoccupation, "I come to cast fire upon the earth . . ."), but surrounding Campion are a solid host of native characters: the careful Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York, the ineffectual Bishop Cheney of

Gloucester, Dr. Allen at Douai, Lewis and Clynog at Rome, the eager Mr. Pounce who circulated *Campion's Brag* from the Marshalsea, and the maligned Fr. Persons, given due honour as Campion's missionary superior. It is perhaps the vindication of Fr. Persons that this book is implicitly a tribute to the work of the Society of Jesus in England. The spirit of *pietas* does not embrace Blessed Edmund Campion alone. The dedication is to Fr. Martin D'Arcy, S.J., and the last paragraph leads back to Oxford, the city Campion loved best, where a noble college is rising in his honour. This essay may prove not the least of the Jesuit influences upon modern English literature.

Professor Janelle brings us back to the sources of English literature itself in his more scientific thesis on Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J., whose influence upon the Elizabethans was profound. The title is, perhaps, too modest, for the biographical portion of the book covers the known material as fully as the chapters of literary criticism deal with the best of Southwell's writings. Students of the period in many fields will find Professor Janelle's notes and appendices of constant service. His subject is a more gentle, a more sensitive, and at the same time a more rigid or scrupulous figure than Campion. Blessed Robert Southwell was "a Jesuit neo-classic"—in Professor Janelle's phrase—trained in the school of Pontanus, who would have the chief task of the poet the imitation of suitable Latin or Greek models. As an English poet, Southwell was affected also by the Euphuists. The wonder is that such a man endured the extremes of torture as a captured priest and that he emerged from the cocoon of post-Tridentine classicism as a compeer of the Elizabethan lyrists: "He was fast gaining power when his career was interrupted; and though his trial and execution are, in themselves, a work of art of supreme beauty, they deprived English literature of one who, while up till then a poet of the second rank, was bidding fair to take his place among the greatest."

The influence of Southwell lived on through the seventeenth century. Professor Janelle points to the

similarity between his moderate temper and the temper of Anglicanism at its best, as a direct contribution of the counter-Reformation, which showed itself in the Laudian revival and again in the Oxford Movement. There is an interesting discussion also of Southwell's contacts with the Elizabethan writers, for he moved with Anthony Copley, Thomas Lodge, the Howards, the Vauxs of Harrowden, and the Sackvilles. He was chaplain, after all, at Arundel House, and it is significant to quote the document of his betrayal by Anne Bellamy, through her brother's meeting with the priest, that "in Fleet Street there met with him this Mr. Southwell". It is arguable that Professor Janelle is too conservative on the subject of Shakespeare and Southwell. He rejects the idea that *Saint Peter's Complaint* supplies a reference to *Venus and Adonis*, on the grounds that *Venus and Adonis* was published only in 1593, when Southwell was already imprisoned, and when *Saint Peter's Complaint* was already circulating in manuscript form. But *Venus and Adonis* may have been circulating much earlier. Not only is the Fleet Street fellowship to be remembered, but there is also a connexion between Southwell and Shakespeare through John Trussell, who edited the *Triumphs over Death*. J. W. Trotman jumped to an extreme theory about Trussell as the writer of Shakespeare's plays. He did not know that there was close family association (probably by blood) between the Trussells and the Shakespeares in their native Warwickshire, or that one branch of the Trussells was settled in London as an easy link of friendship between them all. It can be said with certainty that if Southwell knew Trussell well he knew Shakespeare well.

GREGORY MACDONALD.

MARY TUDOR. By Beatrice White. (Macmillan. 15s.)

"THIS book is an attempt to dispel the popular phantom of 'Bloody Mary'." The publisher arouses hopes which the author quickly dispels, for although she writes with every desire to be just and although her biography contains many useful excerpts from Tudor documents, there is evidence at once that she lacks a sense of the period.



This conviction is confirmed at p. 5: "There were pageants and banquets and jousts, elaborate Masses and still more elaborate orations . . ." Mistakes in detail occur. For example, in the account of Henry's nullity suit the Bishop of Tarbes story is accepted at face value, and the assertion appears that Pope Clement suggested bigamy as a way out of the difficulty. Pope Clement, by the way, "scuttled off" like "a scared rabbit" when the Imperial troops approached to sack Rome, and other references to the Popes are in the same vein.

Far too much stress is laid upon the lurid details of Henry's domestic adventures, or upon the cheap and insulting manifestos of the Edwardine reformers. Far too little stress is laid upon the normal Catholic life of the country, upon the normal Catholic practices of Mary's life in retirement, and, for that matter, upon the joy of the populace at Mary's accession because it implied the restoration of Catholic unity. The well-spring of their joy appears here to have been dynastic loyalty, for London was "vehemently Protestant", with perhaps a majority in the country that "longed for a return, if not to Rome, then to orthodoxy and the Church of the Six Articles". So the book proceeds in no original fashion to the Spanish match, the persecutions, the imagined pregnancy (this also at length), and to a more hurried account of the Queen's magnificent death. At the end of it all the phantom of "Bloody Mary" remains unexorcized. Indeed the whole contest between Catholics and Protestants is made more ghostly than ever by the author's own disquisitions upon religious beliefs (with quotations from Luther, Lecky, and Gosse) and upon the principles of toleration. Thus: "To both Churches faith was a paralysis of the intellect, in a word, credulity." Or: "When men have been taught for centuries to believe, with St. Thomas Aquinas, that the most delicious pastime of the saved in Heaven will be the accurate observation of the damned in Hell . . ." Or: "The spirit of tolerance had died with its exponent, Erasmus . . ." Or: "Before the idea of toleration, which sprang from scepticism, incipient rationalism, intense individualism, political expediency, the advance of science, had been born, this

was a workable point of view." Despite every good intention, the author does not explain Mary Tudor, because she does not understand the Queen's mind or the minds of her contemporaries; most of all because she regards as out-moded the local beliefs of the whole struggle, though they continue to be asserted and to be challenged in the present day.

GREGORY MACDONALD.

ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE I: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY. By Professor Wolfgang Michael. (London: Macmillan & Co. 21s.)

THIS book is one of a series of the "Studies in Modern History" of which the general editor is Professor Namier, whose prefatory note introduces the work to the reader. It is a well-printed book with the necessary references to authorities and an excellent index. The subject is not an inspiring one, but in this book the interest is well maintained. One of its numerous merits is the way in which the author stresses the curiously unnatural amalgamation under one sovereign of two States with no sort of common ground. One was a minor North German State whose elector was an autocrat brought in as a parliamentary sovereign to an island kingdom, whose interests were ever becoming less continental and more colonial, primarily to replace the rule by Divine Right of the Stuart kings and to safeguard the Protestant succession.

Frederick the Great once asked whether George II was one or two persons, and the same conundrum applied to the first George. In reality, though, both were electors of Hanover first and last. Owing to George I's absorption in German politics, foreign ambassadors trusted to Bothmer and Bernstein for transacting business rather than to Townsend and Stanhope: this was detrimental to our foreign policy. It is true that the English ministers were wholly absorbed in Jacobite matters and probably never has any king of England's interest or power in internal matters been so small. This was lucky for the *régime* of parliamentary kings, for the hold of the ministers and the constitution had

got too strong to be shaken by the time that George III, a patriotic Englishman, attempted to control internal as well as foreign affairs. The author rightly insists in the first three chapters on the popular anxiety to safeguard Protestantism, for it is becoming the fashion to ignore the motive of religion because it now seems inconceivable. That is not the way to write history. What may be inconceivable to the younger people of the twentieth century was the mainspring of politics in the period from Henry VIII to George I. Low as, on legitimate grounds, may be our opinion of Sunderland, Halifax, Oxford, Bolingbroke, Marlborough, and others morally, yet they had to give effect to the views of the nation. A zeal for religion which they were far from sharing is, in fact, a tribute paid by trickery to honesty.

George I was in a very uncomfortable position. He could neither speak nor read English, and his ministers knew no German, but French was the *lingua franca* of the small German courts, so that language served as a medium. Two very interesting pieces on this matter and the purely Hanoverian outlook of the King by the Prussian resident, Friedrich Bonet, are printed—numbers two and three—in the Appendix. The chapters on the rising and failure of 1715 are good, but the author, though right in seeing much mismanagement, to say nothing of the ill luck which dogged the Royal Stuarts, does less than justice to James III and Mar. Of the ability of the Duke of Berwick there is no shadow of doubt. There was more latent Jacobitism even in England than would appear from this book, which accepts rather too easily the Whig view of the Stuarts and post-revolutionary England. Recently, in a paper to the Royal Historical Society, Sir Charles Petrie has dealt with this matter of Wyndham and the Jacobites of the West, and Mr. Welch on the Whig theory in the current *English Review*, in an article on "The Stuarts". About Wyndham, Bonet made the strange statement that owing to torture being unknown in English law no confession could be extracted. It was true at that date, but from Edward IV to early Stuart times the use of torture to extract information in cases of High Treason was habitual.

The evidence as to its use even as late as the Popish Plot is conflicting.

The expression "James Edward" used to describe James III is wearisome; if the author does not regard him as King, call him the Pretender. Speaking (pp. 150 and 165) of the Regency powers of the Duke of Orleans, the phrase "discussion in the Parliament" is used. I have reason to fear that translation of "Parlement". Not, of course, in the case of Professor Michael, but in that of the ordinary reader I have frequently seen a tendency to confuse the functions of the "Parlement", the Estates, and our Parliament. At this date the Estates had long ceased to be summoned, and the Parlement de Paris or any provincial one had no legislative power whatever. The Duke assumed the plenary authority of a king. The second fall of Bolingbroke, his dismissal by James III (p. 198 et seq.), is remarkably good, nor are his abilities at all over-drawn; but his devotion to Protestantism does not ring true, for we know from writings published after his death that this brilliant man had, in his heart, no religion at all. After the failure of the 1715, and the conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance and Byng's victory off Passaro, George's prestige stood high, and the House of Hanover was secure, though it was to pass through another *mauvais quart d'heure* in 1745.

MAURICE WILKINSON.

CATHOLICISM IN SCOTLAND. By Compton Mackenzie. (Routledge. 5s.)

THE fluent and graceful pen of Mr. Compton Mackenzie has given us, in less than 200 pages, a very interesting, if necessarily abridged, survey of the history of Catholicism in Scotland from Celtic times down to the twentieth century. I am glad that the very first words of his volume are a quotation from a remarkable book, by no means to be neglected, and I hope still in print—the Rev. John MacNaught's admirable essay on *The Celtic Church and the See of Peter*. The same line of argument, proving the identity in faith and worship of the Church of St. Columba with the rest of Catholic Christendom,

had been already well brought out by Dom Columba Edmonds, O.S.B., in his book on the same subject. But it is a matter of more general interest, and certainly of extraordinary significance, that this historic truth (as it certainly is) should be so convincingly emphasized by a minister of the Church of Scotland, many of whose co-religionists are still inclined, as Mr. Mackenzie indicates, to uphold the extraordinary and untenable theory that the Christian Celts were in no sense Catholics, in the modern and generally accepted sense of that much-abused word.

The Catholic history of Scotland falls naturally into three periods: the first from dim Celtic days to the middle of the eleventh century; the second from the coming of St. Margaret to the fatal year 1560; while the third covers the quasi-extinction, bitter persecution, and revival of Catholicism during the last four centuries. Our author devotes only eight pages to the first period, and sixty to the second, ending with the death of Mary of Guise, in the same year as the downfall of the ancient Church; he writes fairly fully of Margaret's influence and work in uprooting abuses, and bringing religious observances in Scotland into line with the rest of Western Christendom in general. But he does not mention (perhaps does not know) the odd reason why the holy queen's festival was kept for a century and a half, and is still kept everywhere, except in Scotland, on 10 June. This inaccurate anniversary was assigned to her by the Pope because it was the birthday of King James III (and VIII), called by Hanoverians the "Old Pretender"! Only recently has Scotland received the privilege of keeping her feast on the day of her death.

To give the Devil his due, I think it possible that John Knox did not personally instigate the mob of iconoclasts, whom he himself calls in his *Historie* the "rascal multitude", in their work of destroying cathedrals and monasteries, to quite the extent that Mr. Mackenzie believes. There is even some evidence that he did try (perhaps half-heartedly) to restrain their excesses. The author throws doubt on the fact of Knox having ever been in priest's orders; but as to this point also there is

some evidence (though perhaps not conclusive) that he had been ordained priest as a young man.

Mr. Mackenzie does well to emphasize the melancholy fact that it was their gross dereliction of their sacred duties, on the part of so many of the Scottish priests and—sad to relate—also bishops, even in the age which produced prelates like Kennedy, Elphinstone, Reid, and Dunbar ; which, so to speak, threw open the gates of the fortress of God's Church, and allowed the enemy to come in. The late Lord Bute, a historical student of the utmost fairness as well as industry, once told me that one of the most "scandalous features" (as he called them) distinguishing almost all modern Catholic writers about the Reformation, was the manner in which they ignored, or vehemently denied, the charges of immorality and infidelity to their sacred calling which characterized too many priests and prelates alike in those sad days. The Scottish Catholic Church was indeed completely purged of those grave blots ; but the process of purgation was a terrible one. Thank God that her record during the long days of trouble and persecution which followed those stormy times has been in all respects a clean and a pure one, of which her children may be proud !

In the last chapter of his book Mr. Mackenzie can only touch lightly, even superficially, on what is still to some extent a *terra incognita* : the detailed history of the Scottish Catholics since the Reformation. There are, of course, still existing, records of those centuries ; but many, perhaps most of them, are buried in the archives of the colleges of Propaganda and of the Scots in Rome. How valuable those records may be can be seen from the translations of many of the early reports of the Scottish vicars-apostolic to Rome, which have been printed (though they are seldom referred to) as an appendix to one of the volumes of the *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*.

One is glad to see that the author calls special attention to an atrocious means—almost peculiar to Scotland—used to pervert those of the higher classes (no small number) who had clung to the ancient faith. Over and over again we read of young lairds or lords, perhaps still



in their childhood, being torn from their Catholic parents by the Privy Council and sent abroad to be educated in Calvinism. I speak with feeling; for a scandalous, and too successful, example of this vile method of proselytizing took place in my own mother's family, the Nauchopes of Niddrie, who had remained staunch Catholics, succouring and assisting hunted priests and Catholics over and over again, well into the seventeenth century. The room used as a chapel in the penal days, in their old house at Niddrie, may still be seen by the curious visitor.

I am glad that Mr. Mackenzie has noted the curious fact (known perhaps to few) that the King still subscribes annually £2000, called the royal bounty, to the Scots Kirk, for the express purpose of "converting" the Highland Catholics to Presbyterianism! More than £200,000 has been spent, with this pious object, since George I started the fund in 1725. *What have they got to show for it?* As far as I know, literally and absolutely nothing.

Is the author right in saying that Pope Leo XIII erected Glasgow in 1878 into an archdiocese *with suffragans*? Certainly it has no suffragans at present, all the Scots bishops being suffragans of the see of St. Andrews. It is quite correct to state that the restoration of the hierarchy was received in Scotland "with remarkable equanimity". The only Presbyterian protest that I remember came from a notorious Glasgow minister called Begg, who telegraphed to the Pope, "If your threatened hierarchy is promulgated in Scotland, proceedings will be taken against you in the Court of Session." The telegram was, I believe, sent "answer paid"; and the sender, a sound Scotsman, was said to have been much chagrined at receiving no reply to it.

✠ D. O. HUNTER-BLAIR, ABBOT.

SIMON LOVAT, 1871-1933. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Lindley. (Hutchinson & Co. 18s.)

I HAVE been trying to imagine the impressions which would be left on a stranger picking up the Life of Simon Lovat and coming to it from the outside, with fresh eyes. His immediate feeling would, I suppose, be that

thrill of which we are all oddly conscious when we come across something true to type. We picture the head of a Highland clan as a graceful anachronism, whose peculiar qualities ceased to be of any practical use after the year 1745. To see them come to life under the conditions of our own age is as if a portrait should step out of its frame. Yet that is what the stranger would see, pre-eminently, in this biography—a ballad of Ossian coming true in the less stately circumstances of our own time.

That is a consideration which hits the eye when you read the history of the South African war. A great Empire, engaged year after year in scarcely dignified hostilities against small contingents of farmers who know their ground and know how to take cover in it—what remedy is there, except to raise a body of men who are accustomed to hillside reconnaissance? And where can such a body of men be raised, except among the gillies of the Highland estates? That simple piece of calculation, and the realization of it, were presented to the nation in the form of "Lovat's Scouts"; and it is perhaps by that departure in military history that Simon Lovat's name will be chiefly remembered. But if the part he took afterwards in our national history was less spectacular, it was none the less of an importance on which Sir Francis Lindley, his biographer, does well to insist; it was none the less of a character which his heredity and training were specially adapted to supply. In the initiation of the Officers' Training Corps, and in the safeguarding of Imperial defence, we needed a man of military tradition without the prejudices of a professional soldier. In the European war, someone had to direct the vast forestry operations which trench warfare involved; someone to whom the planting of trees on a large scale was a familiar pursuit. And in the times of peace which followed, the readjustment of our relations with the Dominions called for somebody of less than English stiffness, more than English hail-fellow-well-metness, to avoid the chances of friction. All Simon Lovat's gifts, natural and acquired, were placed successively at the service of his country.

The recognition of this might have prompted our stranger to inquire why the country itself gave so little of recognition in return, even if Sir Francis himself had not posed the question at the end of the book. The recent admirable selection of Lord Tweedsmuir as His Majesty's chief representative in Canada suggests, for example, that an earlier vacancy of the same kind might have been filled by the appointment of one who was no less a Scot, no less a friend of all he met, no less a pioneer of intelligent Imperialism. That Simon Lovat was (so his friends thought) overlooked may have been quite unconnected with the fact that he was a Catholic; but Sir Francis, writing as a non-Catholic, evidently does not think so. Not that he suggests, not that anybody could suggest, any taint of bigotry on the part of his hero; the man who was so long esteemed, so bitterly regretted as Chairman of the County Council in (of all places) Inverness-shire could not be held to have given any ground for such suspicions. No, but mere membership of the disinherited religion does still, however politely the fact may be cloaked on both sides, weight the scales a little against the Catholic aspirant to any public position. It is an ungracious subject; but it is well that Sir Francis Lindley's candid estimate should have been put on record.

What the stranger could not know, or could only guess from silence on the part of the documents, is how little any feeling of "disgruntlement" over this want of recognition could cloud the outlook of a man so finely tempered. Nobody who knew him could imagine Simon Lovat as the victim of a personal disappointment; he had such a rare habit of shaking off the cares which oppress most of us. He would turn aside from the most harassing calculations over the business of a sorely tried estate to entertain his guests or play games with his children as whole-heartedly as if only this mattered. His eye had an unfailing twinkle of welcome in it which none, I think, of his portraits has been able to reproduce fully; yet it is a quality in his appearance, and an index to the qualities of his nature, by which those who knew him will best remember him. This biography is not

meant to be an intimate one; it has selected, of set purpose, his public figure as its subject rather than his more human contacts. But even this record of his external activities will not fail to leave the reader with one overmastering impression—that the man who worked so easily with such a variety of colleagues did so because he made himself, not admired merely, but loved.

To say that he lived by the traditions of a great lineage, and deserved well, as few others have, of Church and Country, is to say too little. The measure of his loss is the gap, could the expression of it be made articulate, in the affections of innumerable hearts.

RONALD A. KNOX.

UN CONVERTI DE BOSSUET: James Drummond, duc de Perth: 1648–1716. Par A. Joly, Docteur ès Lettres. (Lille: A l'Économat des Facultés Catholiques. 60 francs.)

THIS handsome and scholarly volume is the life-story of a Catholic Jacobite statesman, a member of that famous Scottish house, the Drummonds, two of whose daughters were queens-consort, of David II and Robert III. At the very time of writing, a descendant of that house is British ambassador at Rome; it may not be inapposite to recall the ancient war-cry, now the motto of the Drummonds: *Gang Warily*. The hero of this biography was the eldest son of the third Earl of Perth, and was himself the fourth earl; the title of duke was given him by James II at St. Germain's in 1695, and was of course never officially recognized in Great Britain. But, as "Perth", he was a prominent Scottish statesman, being appointed Chancellor of Scotland by Charles II in 1684, and holding that office under his successor James II until the Revolution of 1688. As Perth had always identified himself with the extreme Royalist party, he became involved in the stern and repressive measures which that party made use of against the popular religious beliefs in Scotland; and, by most Scotsmen, Perth is placed in the same category as the "bluidy" Claverhouse, the "crafty" Middleton, and General "Tam" Dalyell, "the Muscovy beast wha wad eat men". Such were the

amenities of public life in Scotland at that tempestuous period.

It should be noted that Perth had a younger brother, John, created Earl of Melfort lawfully by James II in 1686 and, like his elder brother, given an empty title of Duke of Melfort at St. Germain's. He also was an active politician ; and Perth has often been blamed for his part in questionable transactions in which his brother Melfort was more deeply implicated. One of these was the affair of the "Highland Host", i.e. the billeting of Gaelic-speaking troops upon the disaffected Covenanted Lowland peasantry of the western counties. In this affair, Melfort, as a military officer, may well have envisaged an opportunity for promotion.

Perth's unhappy connexion with the "Highland Host" is admirably discussed by Dr. Joly. The fortunes of the Drummond family were at a very low ebb ; Lauderdale, president of the Council in Scotland, saw his opportunity to make use of Perth, and caused the Privy Council to suggest, in the tone of a command, that Perth should furnish a number of Highland troops from among his own vassals in Perthshire ; as a set-off to this, Perth was appointed one of the eleven members of the "Committee of the West", the controlling body of this so-called "Highland Host", and was afterwards made a member of the Privy Council ; he received no more tangible rewards than these. His letters show that he never approved of this invasion of the western counties ; and the bigoted Covenanted historian Wodrow does not fail to recognize Perth's moderation in his office of "Commissioner of the West". Dr. Joly refutes many of Macaulay's wild charges against Perth. First, the general charge of cruelty, with the concrete instance of Perth having actually invented the instrument of torture known as the "thumbscrews" ; but it is on record in the pages of Fountainhall that this delectable invention was brought from "Muscovy" by the previously mentioned "Tam" Dalrymple. Secondly, the question of Perth's conversion to Catholicism, which Macaulay insinuates was a mere pretence, to curry favour with James II : now, Perth's mother was a Catholic (Lady Anne Gordon,

daughter of the Marquess of Huntly); Perth was never a Presbyterian, as has been wrongly stated by some historians; he was an Episcopalian, friendly with the bishops—what may be termed a High Churchman. Having entered into a correspondence with Bossuet on religion, is it unreasonable to suppose that a man of Perth's antecedents should not have been sincerely convinced by the powerful arguments of that great churchman? Much capital has been made by the historian Burnet and others on the subject of Perth's third marriage, to Lady Mary Gordon, his first cousin, very soon after his conversion, and without applying to Rome for a dispensation, provoking Pope Innocent XI to exclaim: "These are indeed strange converts!" Dr. Joly makes it abundantly clear (1) that there is no satisfactory evidence that the Pope ever said any such thing; (2) that at this period, in Scotland and in England, faculties for dispensation in cases of consanguinity were delegated to the Cardinal Protector (Barberini), with the power of sub-delegation to the missionary priests. There is every reason to believe that Perth's confessor (a missionary priest, mentioned by Burnet) would have duly and lawfully given the necessary dispensation.

Part II gives the history of Perth in exile, mainly at the mournful mock court of St. Germain. There his incorrigible brother Melfort was very prominent, and caused infinite trouble by misdirecting a letter to Perth, containing a plan of campaign for the invasion of England by the French, in order to restore James II. This letter fell into English hands, and was actually read aloud to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled! The French always said that Melfort did this on purpose to embroil England with France, against whom he had a grudge. This book recalls the almost forgotten Jacobite expedition against England in 1708, frustrated by Byng, the admiral who was later shot *pour encourager les autres amiraux*. It will be news to many that the town of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, U.S.A., was named after Perth, who had a grant of land there, in partnership with William Penn. In a dark and stormy period, and judged by the standard of his contemporaries, he was a superior man; a



*grand seigneur*; pious both as an Anglican and as a Catholic; of noble presence, and of an infinite charm. There is a letter extant from Perth to his son, who was of a gloomy temperament; it concludes: "Be merry; for a pound of care will not pay an ounce of debt."

WEMYSS BROWN.

THE SPIRIT OF MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY. By Etienne Gilson. (The Gifford Lectures of 1931-32.) Translated from the French by A. H. C. Downes. (Sheed & Ward. 7s. 6d.)

THOUGH the philosophy employed by the Mediaeval Scholastics is often supposed to be that of Aristotle, there are many historians who consider that the amendments and additions to Aristotelianism introduced by the Scholastics were of such importance and extent as to have produced a new system of philosophy of their own. This latter view is ably advocated by Professor Gilson, who maintains not only that the philosophy of the Scholastics was new but also that their system was nothing less than *Christian Philosophy*. M. Gilson, while admitting that they were greatly indebted to the Greek, Jewish, and Arabian thinkers, yet rejects as unhistorical the view that the middle ages merely passed on to the moderns what they had inherited. On the contrary, there was no cessation of original philosophic work between classical and modern times, for the Scholastic period witnessed the rise and development of an entirely new set of rational principles which represented the uniquely Christian view of God and nature. The modern philosophies themselves reflected this Christian Philosophy, which had already rejuvenated the outlook of Europe. It is understood that the Christian religion is not itself a philosophy, and was not presented originally in theoretical form. There is no hint of metaphysics in the Old Testament, or even in St. Paul. Christianity is a way of salvation, and therefore something more than a scheme of knowledge. Yet M. Gilson approves the saying of Lessing that though the great religious truths were not rational when they were revealed, they were revealed in order that they might become so. This took

place gradually, according as the soil was favourable, from Apostolic times onwards, culminating in the syntheses of the greater Scholastics, notably in the system of St. Thomas Aquinas.

By the term "Christian Philosophy" the author means "every philosophy which, while keeping the two orders of reason and faith formally distinct, nevertheless considers the Christian revelation to be an indispensable auxiliary to reason". This is taken to involve the descent of supernatural truths into the realms of philosophy, not, of course, into its texture, which would be a contradiction, but into the work of its construction. This resultant philosophy was inevitable, not precisely owing to the essence of Christianity, which is a grace, but because of the rational nature of the human recipient of that grace, for Christianity as a criterion so illumines man's mind that the universe is seen as a manifestation of the All-Perfect Creator, and reason itself, now regarded as a reflection of Divine Wisdom, possesses deeper significance as a means of attaining truth and of co-operating with the purposes of God.

As illustrations of the development of metaphysics in terms of Christian belief, M. Gilson with great insight analyses the ideas of Creation, Analogy, Finality, Providence, Human Personalism, Immortality, Natural Theology, and Intention in Ethics. He shows the great differences between the Christian theories and those of Plato and Aristotle in respect of many of the main principles, though sometimes at the risk of appearing to minimize the contributions of the Greeks and maximizing the originality of the Scholastics. Thus, for example, the idea of Creation as the production of the very existence of the world has been attained solely by the light which revelation has thrown upon natural principles, and, consequently, the purely philosophical truth that there is a "real" distinction between essence and existence in finite entities was formulated exclusively by Christian philosophers. This real distinction made possible a new rational contrast between God as "Being" in simple fulness, and created "beings" as intrinsically *composite*.

If M. Gilson has not fully established his thesis, he may certainly be said to have indicated the manifold character and scope of the problem, and made a contribution which will find a place in an eventual solution. Towards that end there is needed a clear definition of the exact nature of faith and revelation on the one hand, and of the nature of philosophy on the other, so that the question of intrinsic relation between Christian doctrines and philosophy may be elucidated in such a manner that there can be no suggestion of the theory of the Traditionalists or of the deadlock of Fideism. The middle ages saw attempts on the part of Jews and Mussulmans to unify Greek thought with their respective religions, and these facts also can be made to throw light on the conditions of the particular Christian synthesis. It may be presumed that there is a complete relation between natural and supernatural facts, but how far this intimate relation has yet been adequately expounded is a matter not easy to decide.

These lectures are not set forth as exhaustive, and though M. Gilson frequently indicates in brief the detailed bearings of the newer principles of Scholasticism (as when he links the Christian doctrine of Providence with the metaphysics of God's knowledge of particulars), there appears to be required a further exposition which would show that the more evidently *differentiating* doctrines of Christianity, such as those of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, have their philosophical counterpart also in a system if it is to be worthy of the name of Christian Philosophy *par excellence*. This would seem indeed to be a primary requisite in respect of the thesis of M. Gilson, particularly in view of his assertion that it was precisely in the restricted sphere of truths relative to man's *salvation* that the Scholastics did their creative work.

ARTHUR L. REYS.

THE INTELLECTUALISM OF SAINT THOMAS. By Pierre Rousselot, S.J. Translated and with a Foreword by Rev. James E. O'Mahoney. (Sheed & Ward. 7s. 6d.)

THE kind of "intellectualism" which Rousselot finds in St. Thomas is *metaphysical*, it is the doctrine that

Intellect is the sufficient reason of all reality, desirable for its own sake, and in its true and eternal form to be found in beatific union with the Supreme Intellect in a future life. This essential nature of mind can neither be realized nor adequately discovered during our earthly life, but it is announced in the Christian revelation, and we have grounds for affirming it, for after it has been revealed we are able to find reasons in the present activities of intelligence which confirm our belief. This is very different from the modern "intellectualism" which extols the *present* status of intellection and credits it with unlimited scope and power in the conquest of reality. Thomist intellectualism disparages human intelligence in its present conditions, and values it rather as faintly exemplifying what intellect can become in an ideal state of complete intuitive knowledge, rather than on account of any earthly achievements. St. Thomas guarantees the validity of abstraction and affirmation, disdaining while protecting them. This metaphysical intellectualism declares that the pure essence of intellectual process is not to fabricate concepts or propositions, but to *grasp reality* which is spiritual, especially to enrich itself by immanent union with all being in God its source. In that perfectness the *immanence* of its mode of activity and its capacity of *identification* with its object are unitively achieved. Our present provisional concepts, because of their subordination to sense-experience, do not *grasp* the intelligible essence of reality, they are but imitations of such attainment, and our judgements, though certain, are merely human ways of expressing belief in the value of intelligence considered in its absoluteness, and of the capacity of intellect as such directly to comprehend the supreme realities. On earth, therefore, human values are not directly of the intellectual but of the moral order. The immediate knowledge of God by creatures is the only possible final end of all creation, and this consummation must involve the *representative* assimilation of all orders of being to their one Originator.

Admitting that the reality of God can be seen by intelligence, it is necessary that this Divine Life be at

one and the same time both the Object seen and the Medium by which it is seen. God must then take the place of the *species-impressa* and of the *verbum-mentale*. No "idea" of God which is not identical with Him can make known the Divine essence as it really is, and, on the other hand, inasmuch as there is no distinction of "reality" and "phenomenon" in God, it is possible for Deity to "appear" in its entirety and be known in its fulness immediately, as intelligible light, perfectly and entirely luminous without extrinsic mediation. Once this has been brought about, everything that is God's belongs also to the participating minds, for beyond what he has and is intellectually he has nothing and is nothing.

Rousselot then speaks of the means and methods whereby the human mind amidst sensible conditions, while yet almost entirely devoid of intuition, strives consciously and unconsciously to simulate the higher intuition which is lacking to it, by forming general concepts, scientific systems, and symbolism.

Second to abstract conception, in man's earthly endeavour to attain substitutes for perfect knowledge, comes what St. Thomas calls Science, which is for him a series of deductions from absolutely certain principles of thought, whereby we are enabled to attain irrefragable proof of supra-sensible realities. It is questionable how far this deductive Science can be unified with the inductive sciences of today, which latter would have been classified by St. Thomas amongst the "Arts". Next in value, below deduction, is the elaboration of general systems of thought whereby attempts are made to feign completeness by filling in the gaps present in our outline of more definite knowledge by means of symbolic representations. Just as "Science" is a temporary substitute for adequate knowledge, so "System" is a substitute for Science.

There is joy in the acquisition of earthly knowledge, particularly of that which can be gleaned of Perfect Reality and spiritual beings. A vague general knowledge of such sublime realities is of greater value than a more precise knowledge of things less noble. The speculative "idea" is always loved, and in this it bears a resemblance

to the ultimate end itself. The desire to know, to have perfect knowledge, is ever-present with us, it is something inborn, and a natural desire cannot be vain or aimless. The human mind will therefore reach its ultimate purposive end only if a higher agent than our natural faculties "actualizes" our intellect and satisfies that ceaseless desire for endless knowledge of reality as a whole. There is a mysterious need on the part of intellectual nature for this Beatific Vision of the Infinite, which faith does but tend to intensify. Meanwhile intelligence gives to human action its meaning and value, and mind sees in itself a subject capable of dictating laws to which reality must conform.

Christian life seems to have developed in the soul of St. Thomas an enthusiasm for intelligence, side by side with a disdain for mere human reasoning. Such is the thesis of Rousselot, the consideration of which by English readers has now been made possible and attractive by this excellent translation by Dr. James E. O'Mahoney.

ARTHUR L. REYS.

MORAL AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By Rev. H. Davis, S.J. (Sheed & Ward. Four volumes, 7s. 6d. each.)

THIS work is primarily intended for priests and ecclesiastical students, and it is to them that Fr. Davis's manual will chiefly appeal. But it is well that the imposing structure of moral science which is due to the devoted labour of theologians since the seventeenth century should be made accessible also to the educated layman, often unfamiliar with Latin. Fr. Slater's excellent manual has for many years served this purpose, and to a lesser extent, perhaps, the work of McHugh and Callan in America, and the translation of Koch. But the work of Fr. Davis is, in many respects, superior to these, especially as being much more thorough in its treatment of every part of the subject, including the Sacraments, which are dealt with quite as fully as in any of the Latin manuals.

Much space is saved for the treatment of important matters by the omission of ancient controversies, though



Fr. Davis is far from underrating the invaluable contributions to moral science which those controversies represent. Indeed so complete and painstaking have the researches of theologians been that there is little scope for originality in this subject. Nevertheless the ever changing circumstances of life, the developments of medical science, the constant appearance of new legislation, whether civil or ecclesiastical, leave room for new applications of old principles; and Fr. Davis has spared no pains to bring his manual abreast of modern conditions in this respect. Both priest and doctor are faced with problems today which even a decade ago had not been contemplated by the moral theologian. Each needs, if he is to solve these problems, some knowledge of the other's science. The physician can use his skill aright only if, in those matters which concern the preservation and the propagation of human life, he is guided by the principles of the moral law; and the moral theologian or the priest can guide the physician only if he is, to some extent at least, acquainted with the new conditions created by recent medical research. On these matters Fr. Davis is well known as an authority, and Volume II of his manual will prove of invaluable assistance to all whose work lies in this literally vital sphere. It will serve, too, as a timely antidote to so much poisonous literature which has done, and is still doing, incalculable harm to our countrymen. The confessor, moreover, will find much that is valuable in the author's Pastoral Notes. The recurrence of these throughout the work serves constantly to remind him that he is not only a judge, but also the penitent's physician and friend.

G. D. SMITH.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH. By Sergius Bulgakov. (The Centenary Press. 8s. 6d.)

THE MONKS OF ATHOS. By R. M. Dawkins, M.A., F.B.A. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

THOUGH in the writings of metropolitan Macarius, Archbishop Philaret, and others, the Russian Church possesses important expositions of her doctrine, her apologetical literature is somewhat poor. Such books

as those of Professor Svetlov or Rozhdestvensky are, in fact, text-books for ecclesiastical students. Fr. Bulgakov now makes an attempt to fill the existing gap with what purports to be an exposition of the Orthodox Church under all her aspects. In a series of chapters, often only summaries of his previous writings, the author discusses the institution of the Church, her scriptural foundation, organization, authority, sacramental life and worship, mysticism, ethics, and lastly her relations with her own members and human society at large.

Such a book might have been both useful and instructive had it been written in a spirit devoid of controversy, and without the too personal bias so typical of all the writings of Fr. Bulgakov. The Orthodox Church of his book is one which is mostly a creation of his desire; this idealization is perhaps natural in view of the present deep humiliation of the Russian Church, and would be excusable did not Fr. Sergius arrogate to himself the right of being, not only the authoritative mouthpiece of his own Church, but also the infallible judge of other Christian bodies. He interprets the teaching of his Church according to his own ideas, and brushes aside anything which does not fit in with his theory. Thus, accepting as very important the decision of the Constantinople Synod of 1351 upon the teaching of Gregory Palamas on the "Light of Mount Tabor", he rejects the far more important doctrinal decision upon Transubstantiation of the Council of Jerusalem (1672) hitherto accepted by the entire Orthodox Church as the expression of her doctrine. But Father Bulgakov is an authority unto himself, and it is characteristic that the only references he ever quotes are . . . his own writings!

It would seem that the thesis of the book is to show how the Orthodox Church differs from the Catholic, and how much in common she has with the Church of England. Criticisms of the Catholic doctrine occupy a prominent part, and it is regrettable that the writer never gave himself the trouble to study the actual doctrine of the Universal Church at first hand. We are told that the apostles "did not become equal to or like Our Lord, vicars of Christ, or substitutes for Christ, neither in the

person of St. Peter nor in the persons of the Twelve taken collectively", as Catholics or certain Orthodox are supposed to believe; the "heretical" Popes Liberius and Honorius naturally crop up as an argument against "personal infallibility" of the patriarch of Rome; the unity (?) of "life and doctrine" of the Orthodox Church is contrasted with the "external" unity of the Catholic Church, one merely of organization and obedience. Still the author has to admit that the Orthodox Church exacts only a minimum of faith upon which all agree, whilst upon all the rest everyone may believe as he pleases.

On the other hand such doctrines as are common to the Church of England, e.g. the *filioque*, are not considered irreconcilable with Orthodox doctrine, and a definite attempt is made to minimize the difference between sacraments and sacramentals in order to bring Orthodox doctrine more in line with the Thirty-nine Articles. Occasionally Fr. Sergius departs from the traditional teaching of his Church: he denies Transubstantiation, rejects the existence of an infallible centre of authority, accepting Khomyakov's theory as expounded in the middle of the nineteenth century. His teaching on the "Divine Wisdom" has been denounced as heretical by the head of the Russian Church in Moscow, the doctrinal teaching on the "Name of God" in the form which Fr. Bulgakov accepts has been examined and rejected by the Russian Synod in 1913. It is obvious therefore that this book, though it expresses the views of a small group of Russian modernists, cannot be accepted as the voice of the Orthodox Church. The translation reads well on the whole, but surely it is an error of the translator, and not of the author, to place Seraphim of Sarov a century before he actually lived, and to speak of the ceremony of the Washing of the Feet on "Wednesday", and not on Maundy Thursday?

Professor Dawkins had originally intended his book to be only a compendium of the legends of Mount Athos, but subsequently he decided to place these legends into their proper historical background, which greatly adds to the value and interest of the work. It is now a very

complete description of the monasteries of the peninsula, their organization, mode of life, and peculiarities. The ideal of an Eastern monk is to be crucified with Christ and to flee the world with its temptations and sin. But the author considers that "the perfect humility of the penitent with an ever-present sense of sinfulness, the attitude which is certainly so marked in the west, is not found without considerable qualification in the Greek world. The Greeks have a feeling—and have always had it—that if man will play his part, God will play His, and ought to play it". The saints too are bound to harken to prayers, and are reproved if they fail in this duty. Mr. Dawkins speaks of some monks he knows personally, and who seem to have stepped out of the Middle Ages. On the whole, the ascetic rule being very severe, only those who have a genuine vocation remain at Mount Athos, and the old monk who had been a bookmaker in America, and could not resist the temptation of placing ten shillings on a horse in the Grand National, seems to have been an exception.

Athos is intensely nationalistic, and the struggle between Greeks and intruders from Slavonic countries is ever rife. There is a legend that the body of a Greek *begumen* (abbot) who ceded his monastery to Russians was discovered incorrupt—which is not a sign of holiness on Athos but quite the reverse. Many legends deal with the "Latinizing persecution", though curiously the chief culprit is the emperor Michael Palaiologos, who attempted a union with the West. Popular tradition confused this with later attempts, stigmatizing them in legends and iconography. There are several very interesting chapters dealing with this subject of iconography. The book is well worth reading by all who are interested, not only in Mount Athos, but in the peculiar Eastern mentality which is the chief and insuperable obstacle to the return of Orthodoxy to the unity of the Faith.

G. BENNIGSEN.

SCHOOLS OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN, A.D. 1775-1835.

By Rev. Dr. Brennan. Foreword by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Introduction by Rev. Professor Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt. (Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 10s.)

THIS is a unique and important work, for it not only gives an excellent account of the schools of Kildare and Leighlin during later Penal Times, but it also adds, as an appendix, the very materials from which it draws both its inspiration and its facts.

The rapid growth of Catholic independent Pay Schools in Ireland after 1782 caused the Government much anxiety during the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1808 John Leslie Foster warned them that the Irish people were taking education into their own hands and that it was high time for the Government to interfere. On the recommendation of the Education Commission, of which Foster was a member, the Government gave large grants of money to a number of Protestant Education Societies in the hope that these bodies would eventually get control of popular education in Ireland. But within the sixteen years that followed, the Catholic independent Pay Schools nearly doubled their numbers. In 1824 another Royal Commission was set up which collected, during the winter months of that year, detailed information of schools in every parish in Ireland. These parochial returns, made on oath by two separate bodies, the Catholic clergy and the clergy of the Anglican Church in Ireland, were exhaustive and accurate. Official documents give but a barren extract of them. The originals, so far as is known, are not now in existence ; and no duplicates were made, except in one instance. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, 1819-34, generally distinguished by the initials, "J. K. L.", James of Kildare and Leighlin, was, it is thought, the only bishop who had duplicate returns sent him by his parish priests. These returns, more than three-fourths of which have been preserved, form, in the main, the basis of Dr. Brennan's work.

One of the earlier chapters of this book deals with "The Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine in Ireland",

a subject long in need of adequate treatment. Here he shows how priest and schoolmaster co-operated in the work of teaching Catholic Doctrine at a time when to be a Catholic was almost to be an outcast; and what weapons they had to hand in the libraries of these little country churches! The Catholic Pay Schools, or Hedge Schools as most of them were, found their bitterest enemies in the Protestant rival establishments that sought to supersede them. "The Hedge Schools . . .", they asserted, "were schools in which the lowest possible State of Morals were observed, in which the most Immoral Books were admitted, and in which Intellectual Education was at the lowest possible Scale." One writer, a member of the Society for promoting the Principles of the Reformation in Ireland, called them "receptacles of rags and penury in which a semi-barbarous peasantry acquired the rudiments of reading and writing, Irish history and high treason". Dr. Brenan, with a full knowledge of his subject and with a peculiarly impersonal touch, combats statements like these and ably proves that the Catholic Pay Schools, poor though they were, were at no time inferior to the schools of the Protestant Education Societies. He gives a critical study of these societies and shows that in spite of disclaimers to the contrary not one of them could be acquitted of the charge of proselytism. "The most aggressive proselytizing institution of all was the London Hibernian Society, founded in London in 1806." This society seems to have made no secret of its intentions. In its first Report it stated: "The Hope . . . that the Irish will ever be a tranquil and loyal People, and still more that Piety and Virtue will flourish among them, must be built on the anticipated Reduction of Popery." The Protestant Education Societies had vast resources, "funds to the amount of £200,000", and with their bold invasion of every sphere of Catholic activity they were a constant menace to the faith of the Catholic poor.

This book is well documented. Is the author, however, in the light of the evidence he cites, justified in stating that the Charter School Society forcibly abducted



Catholic children from their parents? Again, he says that "in Ireland the Lancasterian Plan never won acceptance except with the Education Societies". With men like Carleton and with hedge schoolmasters, it certainly did not. But the Catholic Poor Schools of Cork adopted "Mr. Lancaster's Plan"; and there was a Lancasterian School at Ringville, County Kilkenny, as late as 1837. Who is the "contemporary critic" quoted on page 8? Neither the author nor the reference he gives provides the answer.

But these are minor considerations in an extremely valuable contribution to the history of education in Ireland.

P. J. DOWLING.

MATTEO RICCI'S SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION TO CHINA.

By Henri Bernard, S.J. Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner. Demy 8vo, illustrated. (Pieping: Vetch. 7s. 6d.)

MATTEO RICCI, the best known of the brilliant band of Jesuits sent to China in the latter half of the sixteenth century, was born at Macerata, in the Papal States, 6 October, 1552, and died at Peking 11 May, 1610.

Twenty years ago, under the guidance of the late Rt. Reverend Monsignor Jarlin, C.M., Bishop of Peking, the writer of this notice, after a visit to the grave of Ricci at Chala near Peking, had the privilege of examining the collection of scientific books left by the famous missionary to the Cathedral Library. Besides Ricci's own translations of Euclid, and other scientific works, into Chinese, there were to be seen the treatises on the astrolabe, and dissertations on various problems of physics and astronomy written by Ricci's famous master, Father Clavius. The reviewer well remembers with what emotion he first handled these venerable tomes, some bearing the autograph dedication of Clavius to his favourite pupil: *P. Mathaeo Ricci donum auctoris alla China (sic)*, and all stamped with the bookmark of the Peitang Cathedral Library of St. Saviour, Peking.

And now there has just come from China a well-printed and illustrated volume, which many of us had long desired to see in print, chock-full of interesting and

well-documented information on Ricci and his scientific work in China, information that assuredly cannot be got elsewhere in a handy form. It is a book that every lover of China and especially everyone interested in the scientific work of the pioneer missionaries in China will be delighted to possess.

After a short but interesting preface, and a list of his sources, the author gives an excellent summary of the history of the mathematical and physical sciences, including astronomy, in Europe and in China, up to and including the sixteenth century, when Ricci arrived in the Orient. At this stage Père Bernard lays special stress on the remarkable part played by Islam, that is by the Arabian and Persian mathematicians and scientists, in reviving these studies, after centuries of stagnation, not only in Spain and thence throughout Europe, but also in China, particularly during the Yüan or Mongol dynasty of Ghengis Khan and his successors (1280-1368). This well-documented chapter may be read in conjunction with the chapters on the Rise of Islam in Christopher Dawson's able book: *The Making of Europe*. When Ricci arrived in China, his mind well stored with the accumulated knowledge and experience of his master Clavius and other famous teachers, he was astonished on seeing the fine astronomical instruments that had been constructed at Nanking and Peking by Kuo Shou-Ching of the Yüan dynasty. As he himself wrote: *We certainly had never seen or read of anything in Europe like them*. If this appears to us excessive praise, we must remember that Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), one of the greatest leaders of astronomical progress, and specially famous as an inventor and instrument-maker, was only at the beginning of his epoch-making career in Denmark, when Ricci sailed from Lisbon for the East.

In subsequent chapters, Père Bernard gives a good summary of the remarkable contributions made by Ricci to Chinese science, in all its branches, from arithmetic and pure mathematics to mechanics and astronomy.

As he reminds us, the problems of astronomy have had an enormous interest for the Chinese from the earliest times. This is due largely to the connexion of

astronomy with the calendar, and the ritual observances of their numerous festivals. It was but fitting, therefore, that Père Bernard should devote some pages to the question of the reform of the Chinese calendar, and especially to the part that Ricci played in preparing the ground for this much needed work. Though the veteran missionary did not live to see his efforts crowned with ultimate success, the reform that he had initiated was brought to a triumphant conclusion sixty years later by his successors Father Schall von Bell and Father Verbiest, who made the remarkable astronomical instruments still to be seen in the Observatory on the walls of Peking.

G. S. F.

POEMS (1914-1934). By Herbert Read. (Faber and Faber. 7s. 6d.)

POETRY, like the other arts, is nothing more than the interpretation and expression of experience. The creation of a poem, then, is of necessity a philosophic process. But the texture and technical arrangement of any poem is a more individual matter dependent on the particular poet's angle of vision and peculiar reaction to the given provocative experience. It is true that no two experiences are ever exactly alike, but it is equally true that all experiences are in some manner common to all men. They have features and coincidences which reflect an unalterable essence belonging to the substance of man *qua* man. Mr. Herbert Read's poems demonstrate this truth in a remarkable fashion. He is important both as poet and as philosopher and, unlike so many post-Reformation English poets, even among the greatest, he does understand that the being of a man is a unity, and not something separate from or introduced into flesh and bone and sinew. He pursues the proper Aristotelian course—occasionally blurred by the pseudo-Thomism of D. H. Lawrence—between the purely spiritual and the purely material, synthesizing and comprehending both as one. And this brings us, rather belatedly, to the poems themselves, the full-flowering of a mind which is essentially inquisitive and prone to experiment. Leaving aside those poems

and parts of poems—and there are not a few—which still labour under an undergraduate burden, such tiresome lines for example as :

These pink chrysalid faces,  
Devoid of anything so atavistic as whiskers . . .

and :

My brow falls like a shutter of lead, clashes  
on the clenched jaw

we fall in love with the typical :

After a wet season  
the leaves fall early  
and bells among the damsel trees  
invent the dusk.

The Eclogues with which the book opens are extraordinarily interesting. Space not permitting a profitable discussion on the many virtues and blemishes of the book as a whole, we confine our remaining remarks to these. To what extent are they in debt to the Japanese Hokku ? It may be that they are entirely innocent of such an influence, but *The Woodman* is suggestive :

His russet coat and gleaming axe  
Flit  
In the blue glades.

*The wild birds sing ;  
But the Woodman he broods  
In the blue glades.*

The last three lines (which we have put into italics) make an almost perfect "Hokku", the seemingly errant impression conveying a whole world of contrast and sympathy within a mere sprinkling of syllables. Indeed, it is a pity the first lines were written. They are superfluous to the experience and the intention of the

poet. Would that Mr. Read might make exercises in the Hokku proper. He would strike a well-merited and mortal blow at the discursiveness of our modern pre-Raphaelites and the tedious introspective "smash-and-grab" of our ultra-modern Donnes and Blakes bewildered by traffic signals.

EGERTON CLARKE.

# THE FORTNIGHTLY

APRIL

A VICTORIAN GRANDE DAME

*by Dame Ethel Smyth*

Someone has questioned whether it is as a writer or as a composer that Dame Ethel Smyth's gifts are greater. This admirer was probably not a musician, but at least Dame Ethel's lively pen has an ideal subject in the charming study she has written of her friend Lady Ponsonby, a woman of striking character, who was the wife of Queen Victoria's private secretary.

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For six months the world has been guessing what Sir Samuel Hoare really meant by his cryptic words at Geneva about raw materials and colonies. Mr. Philby, the great authority on Arabia doubts exceedingly whether Sir Samuel himself knew. At all events, all thoughts of parcelling out the British Empire among the "Have-nots" are now dead. Mr. Philby ironically points out that, far from giving away British colonial assets, the Government is engaged in adding to them in Arabia at the expense of Ibn Saud and the Yemen.

THE CONQUEST OF EVEREST

*by C. F. Meade*

The Ruttledge expedition is already at the foot of Mount Everest, acclimatizing itself for the fifth attempt on the peak, to be made in May or June. The writer, who is a former member of the Mount Everest Committee, tells us what is the probable plan of campaign, in which the "fast acclimatizers" and the "slow acclimatizers" have their different parts to play.

AMERICAN RECOVERY: WILL IT LAST?

*by André Siegfried*

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